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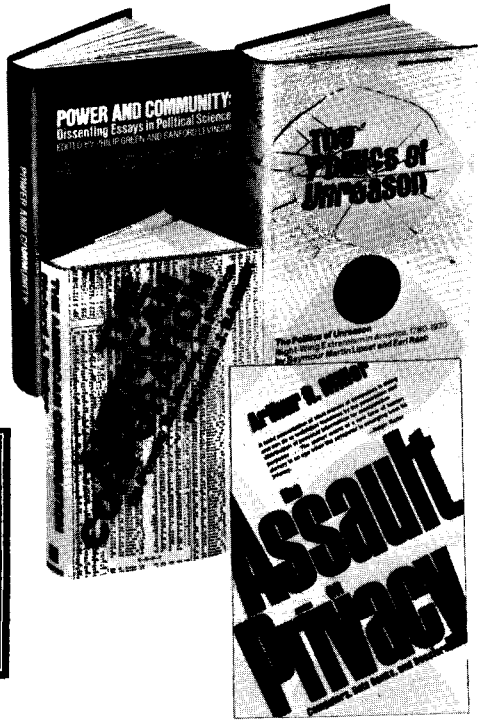


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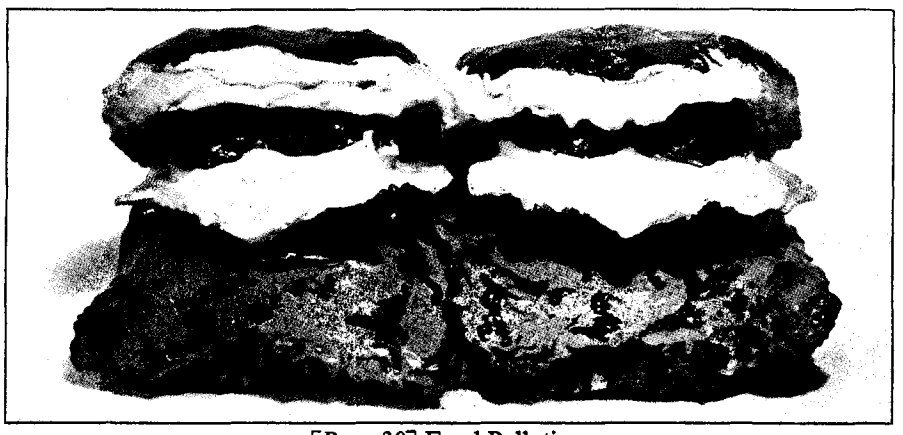

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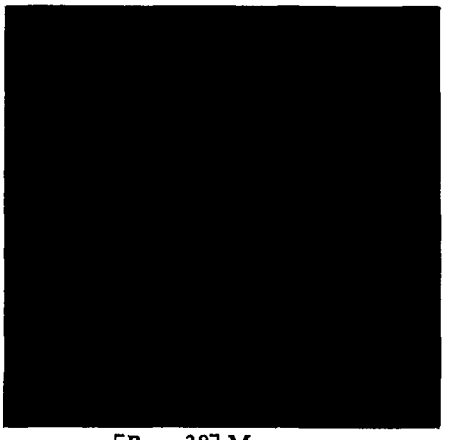

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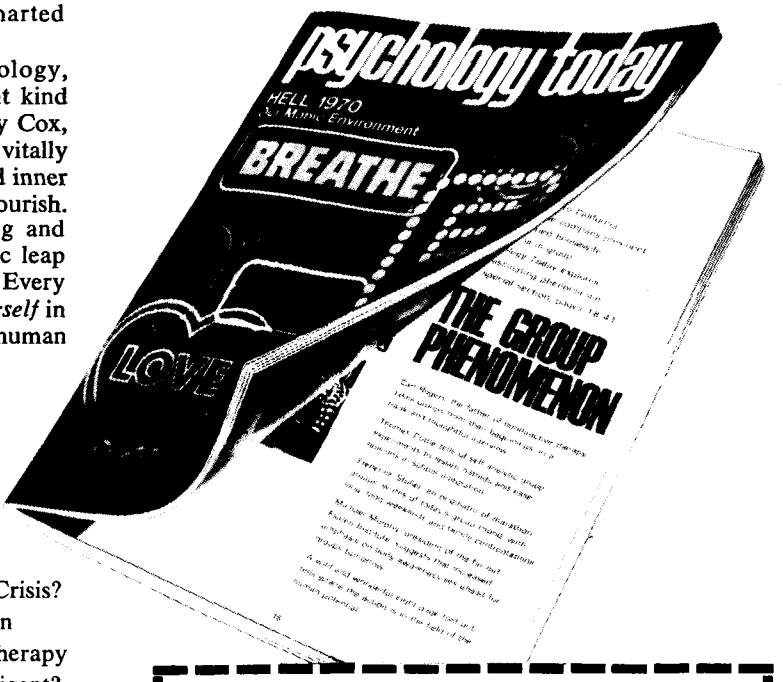


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# Hard Times

## Health Economics

WHILE THE PRESIDENT insists he wants to change the health system for the better, he has in fact been ripping up existing health policies. Nixon's health message emphasized the Administration's determination to support medical schools and other medical training centers. Yet the budget sharply cut money spent for medical research and scholarships. The 1971 budget request involved cuts in hundreds of research projects, and for the second year in a row it made no provision for the construction of research facilities. To demonstrate his enthusiasm for training medical professionals, Nixon asked for $12 million for student loans—a reduction of $3 million from the sum appropriated in 1970, and $14.5 million below that granted by Congress in 1969.

Nixon signed the Emergency Health Personnel Act of 1970, which permits health professionals to do alternative draft service by practicing medicine in areas where there are few doctors. But the act has never been put into operation. Instead, the Administration sought unsuccessfully to close down the Public Health Service clinics where many of the new doctors were to practice. Similarly, the President vetoed a bill to provide medical schools with money for development of family medical programs a few months after expressing in public his interest in such programs.

Of Nixon's six vetoes, three of them were to knock out health measures. He vetoed a congressionally-approved 1970–71 appropriations bill for HEW; in the revised bill which finally became law, health programs were cut back to bare minimums to meet Administration objections. A proposal of funds for children's dental service was eliminated entirely, and HEW told Congress it would not spend the $10 million originally planned as additional aid for its program to vaccinate school children against rubella.

The Administration has cut back funds used to immunize people against communicable disease. In his health message, the President agonized that "50 percent of poor children are not even immunized against common childhood disease." But this is true largely because his Administration cut off funds to states and cities for mass immunization programs. In 1969, the Vaccination Assistance Act ran out; this had provided federal funds for the purchase of vaccines for contagious diseases. Before the act expired, Dr. David Sencer, director of HEW's Communicable Disease Center, reported that measles had been nearly eradicated. Since 1969, however, the incidence of measles has risen sharply.

When bills were proposed in Congress last year authorizing renewed grants for communicable disease control, Wilfred Rommel of the Budget Bureau wrote to the committee considering the matter, "In our opinion, new legislative authority in this field is neither necessary nor desirable. . . The establishment of categorical grant programs in the field of communicable disease control is unnecessary, would complicate and confuse existing grant authorization, and runs counter to the President's efforts to consolidate and simplify grant programs." HEW officials reluctantly testified against the bill, and when Congress went ahead and authorized $75 million for vaccination assistance, HEW said the money was not necessary. In the end only $2 million was appropriated, and little if any of that money has been spent.

The government's line in health is that bloc grants to the states are a better method for helping them, since money in a bloc grant can be used for whatever is most needed. But the money in bloc grants is barely enough to cover old programs. Few states have used any of it to cover the expense of mass innoculation. Without more money the New York City Health Department may soon have to stop providing physicians in private practice with free vaccine. Since measles vaccine costs about $1.50 a dose, doctors will need to charge patients, who until now have been vaccinated free. New York would have removed measles vaccine from the free list by now if an epidemic had not broken out in January.

Because of Nixon's policy, the number of pre-school children innoculated against measles dropped seven percent in 1970. There were 47,000 measles cases over the last year, compared to 25,000 in 1969. More than 60,000 measles cases are predicted for 1971. There have already been measles epidemics in at least 15 cities over the last six months.

The incidence of diphtheria and polio also has increased; diphtheria rose more sharply last year than at any time since its decline began in 1920. The rate of immunization for polio dropped 13 percent since the big push against it in 1966. At that time, 78 percent of all children were vaccinated. Now about 65 percent of all youngsters have been vaccinated. Among poor inner-city children (i.e., Chicanos and blacks), the polio immunization rate is only 47 percent.



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Black and Chicano children are more likely to catch any communicable disease. Fewer of them were immunized against measles; 53 percent are innoculated against diphtheria, compared to 75 percent of the total population of children. The largest outbreak of diphtheria in the past year was in San Antonio, Texas, where several youngsters died. In that city, as throughout the Southwest, the disease broke out mainly among Chicanos.

As the administration was cutting back the health programs, the President offered his revolutionary new plan for reforming medical practice. Apparently this represents a sidewise maneuver aimed at shoring up the insurance industry; it doesn't have much to do with medicine. Essentially, Nixon proposes to have the government underwrite the insurance industry in its sale of health policies.

The major significance of the proposal is the effect it is likely to have on the insurance industry. In recent years, insurance has undergone a basic reorganization. Large companies have changed themselves into holding companies which, in addition to selling various lines of insurance, also own or control firms in other industries. For instance, a large insurance company may also own consumer credit companies, real estate operations, data processing, airlines, mutual funds, etc. [See Ramparts, May 1971: "Blue Cross"] The actual sale of insurance policies to consumers is meant to provide a steady cash flow which then can be put to use in shrewd investment policies. Because of the importance of this cash flow for other investments, it is all the more important that insurors cover only preferred risks, that is, those persons who are not likely to use their policies. Over the past decade insurors competed vigorously with one another to seek out and cover the preferred risk. Meanwhile, they tried to get rid of all the bad risks.

The excuse for dumping the bad risks was that business was terrible. Automobile insurors said drunk drivers were causing more and more accidents; angry jurors were handing out bigger claims settlements than ever before. Thus, they had to weed out the bad risks. That meant dumping some 30 million (of 100 million) drivers. In health it was the same story. Too many people were using their policies. Inflation was driving costs up; government interference was ruining the once sound medical system. In neither case did the insurance companies ever argue for any substantial change of the business they covered. They never pushed for safer automobiles; they never sought a reorganization of the costly, inefficient health system. A close look at the books indicated insurance companies were making more money than ever before through investments.

Insurance companies are regulated on a spotty basis by states. Over the past five years there has been a slowly building effort to bring them under federal control. The industry is determined to avoid this course if at all possible. During the mid-1960s Senators Hart and Magnuson promoted legislation which would have established federal control over automobile insurance rates and set up a "no-fault" collection system. (Under "no fault," accident victims have medical bills paid, much as Blue Cross pays hospital bills. Courts and claims processes are cut out.) The auto insurance proposals were shunted from Congress to a study group in the Department of Transportation, which was expected to report favorably in behalf of the Administration. These ideas are most conservative and have wide support, yet at the last moment the White House killed them. Transportation Department sources said the White House did not care to discomfit Republican supporters in the insurance industry with a costly campaign coming on. Nixon's most prominent campaign contributor, of course, is W. Clement Stone, the Chicago insurance mogul, who alone gave more than $500,000 in 1968. The Kemper family, which runs the Kemper insurance companies, also has long been important in GOP fund-raising. The Kempers were opposed to any federal regulation of auto insurance. And there may be other ties; Nixon's old law firm represented insurance agents in Washington, and Nixon himself, along with Arthur Burns, knew the insurance business first hand as director of Mutual of New York before the 1968 election.

Large insurance companies sell life, auto and health policies. It is usual to consider the different lines separately, but they are all part of holding company operations and should be viewed as one. Looked at in this way, Nixon has removed, at least for the moment, the threat of federal regulation in one area of the business, and he is proposing a subsidy through the health scheme in another segment of the industry. As a practical matter, he is setting himself up for next year's campaign.

—Frances Lang and James Ridgeway

# Business of War

A recent study by the Council on Economic Priorities makes plain that most of the corporate profits from the Indochina war come from supplying ordnance and aircraft—in short, the goods and services used to implement military strategies aimed at pacification of the civilian population. These military strategies, of course, have resulted in enormous numbers of civilian war casualties throughout Indochina and in turning many millions of people into refugees. The report, entitled "The Business of War," is particularly important because any investigation of "war crimes" would necessarily need to look into the role played by the management of these companies.

The Council study traces $33.5 billion in war-related contracts from January 1965 through December 1970. While some 500 companies are involved, more than $25 billion of the total contracts went to only 62 corporations, each of which received more than $100 million. Most of these companies were engaged in making shells or bombs or in the manufacture of aircraft, especially helicopters.

A main factor contributing to the high cost of the Indochina war has been the enormous amount of ordnance expended by U.S. forces. By the end of 1970 the U.S. had dropped more than five million tons of bombs on North and South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia—more than twice the amount dropped in both European and Pacific theaters in World War II. In addition,



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## TOP TEN U.S. CORPORATE CONTRACTORS FOR WAR-RELATED MATERIALS AND SERVICES

| NAME | CONTRACTS TOTAL JAN. '65 - DEC. '70 | CONTRIBUTION 1968 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN BY COMPANY OFFICIALS | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | GOP | DEM |
| 1. McDonnell Douglas | $ 3.3 billion | $ 26,432 | 0 |
| 2. Lockheed | 1.4 billion | 38,880 | 1,000 |
| 3. Textron | 1.2 billion | 6,000 | 0 |
| 4. Olin | 1.1 billion | 58,300 | 3,000 |
| 5. Ling Temco Vought | 974 million | 7,500 | 1,500 |
| 6. Grumman | 950 million | 6,500 | 0 |
| 7. General Motors | 780 million | 114,675 | 1,000 |
| 8. duPont | 681 million | 42,800 | 0 |
| 9. Boeing | 646 million | 5,000 | 0 |
| 10. Honeywell | 642 million | 6,000 | 3,000 |

*Sources: Business of War, Council on Economic Priorities, 1971; Congressional Quarterly, September 18, 1970 (Study by Citizens Research Foundation for Congressional Quarterly)*

U.S. ground and naval forces fired five million tons of artillery shells into Indochina. Another factor in high war costs has been the heavy rate of aircraft attrition and the expense associated with replacing modern, sophisticated planes. From 1961 through 1970, the U.S. lost 7516 aircraft in Indochina, including 3275 fixed-wing planes and 4241 helicopters.

The aerospace companies are high on the list of war contractors; but hundreds of other firms normally associated with civilian consumer goods participated in the Indochina booty. AMF, which makes Harley Davidson motorcycles and Voigt basketballs, received $339 million for rockets and aluminum powder for demolition bombs. Eastman Kodak received $249 million to run the Holston Army Ammunition plant, where explosives are made. Bulova Watch received $89 million for the manufacture of detonating fuses for rockets and artillery shells. Augusta Bag and Burlap got $7.7 million for sandbags; Cheseborough-Pond's, the beauty aid firm, received $2.2 million for camouflaged bandages; Magnavox, Zenith, Motorola, Hammond and Westinghouse made fuses, radar, target detection devices, etc.

Many of these firms have close ties with the Republican government, and it won't be so easy for the GOP in an election year to ignore their interests. One indication of the ties is suggested by the campaign contributions made to the Nixon campaign during 1968 by corporate officials. [See chart]

Some of the major Indochina contractors would be badly hurt by the end of the war. Norris Industries, Inc., for example, the eleventh ranked contractor, with 67 percent of its sales accounted for by the Pentagon, would be in trouble. Forbes observed, "In percentage terms Norris Industries may well be the biggest corporate beneficiary of the Vietnam War. Between 1965 and its fiscal year ending July 31 [1968], Norris Industries sales will have mushroomed from $67 million to about $250 million. . . By that time some $150 million of Norris's sales, or around two-thirds of the total, will be derived from Vietnam." Well known for its Pyrene fire-extinguishers, Thermador ovens and Waste-King kitchen appliances, Norris spends most of its time and effort in the manufacture of cartridge cases and bodies for anti-personnel and fleschette bombs.

The top ten contractors include: McDonnell Douglas, largest producer of jet fighters, with two active contracts—the Navy A-4 skyhawk and Navy/Air Force F-4 Phantom; Textron, Inc., major supplier of helicopters and helicopter parts (sales would be modest if it were not for General Westmoreland's search-and-destroy strategy); GM, producer of Sheridan tanks, M-16 rifles, helicopter and other aircraft engines, artillery pieces, explosives, and various parts for weapons systems; E. I. duPont deNemours & Co., manager of three ammunition plants; Lockheed, manufacturer of C-5A and other transports for long-range shipment of troops and materiel from the U.S. mainland to Indochina; Olin, manufacturer of small arms ammo, including shells for the M-16; Ling-Temco-Vought, manufacturer of jet fighter bombers for the Navy; Grumman, manufacturer of helicopters and maintenance on B-52s; and Honeywell, manufacturer of bombs and small-type projectiles.



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*(Stripped hills in Letcher, Knott and Perry counties, coal rich areas of Eastern Kentucky.)*

# Appalachian Inferno

AS AN UNINTENDED side-effect, the coal mine safety reforms of 1969 are creating a boom in strip-mining. Rather than pay the money to improve working conditions underground, operators of small mines, or dog-holes, are turning their works into strip-mines, thereby avoiding the safety requirements. Strip-mines produce more coal with fewer workers. The result is to hasten the overall destruction of land and to deepen the already desperately poor circumstances of people in Appalachia.

In 1930, strip-mining accounted for less than five percent of the nation's total coal production. Today that figure is about 33 percent. The growth in strip-mining is encouraged by factors other than the new mine safety law. Much of the coal is burned by utilities to make electricity. There is considerable pressure to increase profits by expanding consumer markets for electricity; and their sales efforts help to explain the appearance of the so-called "energy crisis." The utilities are buying more coal now than anticipated because environmentalists are successfully blocking plans to build nuclear power plants. TVA increasingly depends on strip-mined coal for another reason: The cheap coal allows it to undercut private power competitors, making possible the claim that public power is really cheaper and better than private power. (TVA buys 25 million tons of strip-mined coal from Kentucky each year.) Finally, many coal companies are owned by oil conglomerates. The oil companies, accustomed to a high profit rate on oil, are trying to squeeze more out of their coal subsidiaries. One way to get bigger profits is to turn to strip mining, which increases production and cuts labor costs.

Letcher County typifies the situation in the mountainous coal-producing counties of eastern Kentucky. In 1970 there were 122 separate strip-mine permits issued in Letcher County, covering 3431 acres of land. That's about two percent of the land in the county. It may not seem like much, but the total number of acres set aside for stripping in *one* year is more than all the county's water area, pasture and range-land combined; and it is nearly equal to the built-up and urban sections of the county.

The coal operators insist strip-mining means more jobs and general prosperity for everyone. But in Letcher County, of a total 2457 people employed in mining, only 300 work at strip operations. All the others labor underground. As small underground mines are changed over into strip operations, more miners will probably lose their jobs. The unemployment rate in Letcher County now stands at 8.5 percent.

In Letcher County, as elsewhere in Appalachia, the coal lands are often owned by outside corporations. The biggest strip outfit in Letcher is a subsidiary of McCulloch Oil Corp. of Los Angeles. The oil companies bought up mineral rights in eastern Kentucky partly because they wanted to make money on coal. (They also wanted to prevent the coal companies pitting coal against oil and gas in the electricity markets.) The oil combines plan to strip all the coal in the area; then, because there are indications of large-scale oil and gas deposits in the region, they will explore these deposits. Already, land owners who complained about strip-mine operations are now trying to stop the proliferation of oil and gas pipelines sprawling across the land. The pipelines are bad enough to look at, but more important, they frequently rupture, polluting the streams.



Photograph by Phil Primack

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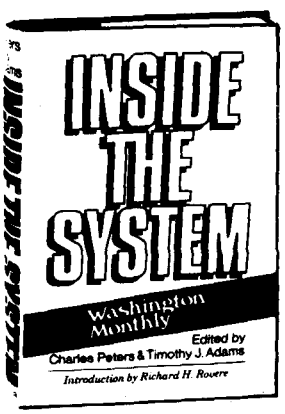


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# Mayday

**What Happened at Tchepone?** *(War reports from Vietnam appearing in the U.S. press often have proved to be badly wrong. The South Vietnamese "victory" in Laos was but one example. We believe readers will find it useful on occasion to compare accounts in their daily papers with reports published in North Vietnam and elsewhere by liberation groups.*—THE EDITORS)

Here are two accounts of events at Tchepone which raise the possibility that the South Vietnamese never did occupy the place. The first, by Alvin Shuster in the New York Times, recites the South Vietnamese claim of occupation. Dated March 6, from Saigon, it says, "South Vietnamese troops moved today into the Laotian town of Tchepone, a major objective of their four-week-old offensive against enemy supply lines.

"Supported by American planes and helicopters, more than 2000 soldiers of the First South Vietnamese Infantry Division pushed into the bombed-out city at 1:00 P.M. They reported they had found the bodies of 200 North Vietnamese soldiers.

"South Vietnamese spokesmen, elated at their most dramatic success of the Laotian operation, said that their forces suffered only light casualties. Reports from the troops were that Tchepone was destroyed and almost deserted . . .

"More important than the city itself are the key road junctions nearby. The Ho Chi Minh Trail network of enemy supply lines grows narrow in the Tchepone area, thus providing the South Vietnamese with the opportunity to choke off more supplies destined for . . . South Vietnam and Cambodia.

"Military sources said that the South Vietnamese infantrymen had begun fanning out from the town to take up positions near key branches of the trail system. American helicopters, which flew many of the assault troops to the area, hovered overhead. . . .

"South Vietnamese spokesmen said that the troops at Tchepone found 300 tons of ammunition, as much as 1000 tons of canned food and rice, five trucks, 15 anti-aircraft machine guns, 2000 Chinese gas masks and assorted other weapons, including rockets. . . .

A second account, from the North Vietnamese newspaper *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, is dated March 8. The paper's correspondent, reporting from Tchepone, writes: "I came to see Mr. Van Di, chairman of the administration committee of Tchepone District, at 1600 hours of March 7 in the center of the district capital.

"After greeting him, I went straight to the point: 'Mr. Chairman, what do you think of the news spread by the American and Saigon propaganda that the Saigon puppet troops have occupied Tchepone at 1:00 P.M. on March 6 and that Nguyen Van Thieu had commanded his men in the field?'

"Mr. Van Di and the other Lao friends present burst into roaring laughter. One of his aides commented: 'What a bluff! This is not the first time the Americans boasted of their occupation of Tchepone!' Mr. Van Di pointed to the rice baskets and many cages of chickens in front of the house and said: 'All this has just been brought here by the town's population as gifts to the People's Liberation Army. As you can see for yourself, life is going on as normal here. We have been carrying on production while actively preparing ourselves to "welcome" them at any time. In the afternoon of March 6, U.S. aircraft came and dropped bombs, striking down several trees, hampering our traffic for a while. But now everything has returned to normal. Our trucks continue to roll unimpeded.'

"I went out with Mr. Van Di and other Lao friends for a walk in the town. We met several Lao girls with rifles slung to their shoulders. At another place, young men were repairing shelters and combat trenches. Pointing to the hills to the southeast, Mr. Van Di said: 'There, yesterday the U.S. aggressors sent helicopters to land Saigon troops on Ta Pang mountain. But our men gave them a good thrashing. Sixteen helicopters, including six huge "flying cranes," were set ablaze in next to no time.' Whereupon several Lao girls came from the other direction. Mr. Van Di called to them:

" 'Hello, friends; the Americans said they had arrived in Tchepone!'

"The girls laughed eyes and mouths, and one said: 'Come if they want. We'll send them to sleep with the earthworms!' "

**Wealth & Politics:** A recent decision by a U.S. Court of Appeals for the fifth circuit encourages wealthy people to run their own political candidates. The case involves Edith R. Stern, daughter of Julius Rosenwald (Sears-Roebuck) and of the Stern Family Fund, who spent some $60,000 to back candidates for Governor of Louisiana and Mayor of New Orleans in the early 1960s. Under usual practice this money would be subject to a U.S. gift tax, which can run up to 57 percent. In the past, the tax acted as a restraint on the very rich in political endeavors, requiring them to go through circuitous and time-consuming sidesteps. Mrs. Stern protested paying the gift tax, claiming that she had spent the money "to protect my property and personal interest by promoting efficiency in government." Both the district and appeals courts agreed with her. The appeals court opinion said, "In a very real sense, then, Mrs. Stern was making an economic investment that she believed would have a direct and favorable effect upon her property holdings and business interests in New Orleans and Louisiana."

**Third World:** *Business and Society*, the biweekly report on business and social responsibility, writes: "Responding to pressure from radical activist groups on college campuses, the Weyerhaeuser Co., Tacoma, Wash., timber producer, has issued to its managers a 14-page booklet spelling out in great detail the company's operations overseas. The unusual booklet is called *Weyerhaeuser's Investment in the 'Third World'—Where are we? What are we doing? Are we assisting or exploiting?*

"The Weyerhaeuser document is notable for its absence of rhetoric and direct confrontation of the issues. The booklet argues, for example, that Weyerhaeuser's 50%-owned packaging facility in South Africa is making a major contribution to the economic development of the Bantu people and may, in fact, be weakening the apartheid system. It warns that too much publicity about these efforts might force the government to crack down on the company.

"The booklet refers to Spain as a 'surviving fascist government,' notes



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**POWs:** North Vietnamese claim they offered to allow U.S. or South Vietnamese come in and evacuate 39 wounded South Vietnamese soldiers from hill 935, southwest of Dac-to, on March 1. Instead, they say, the U.S. bombed the hill and killed the soldiers.

Another dispatch bitterly assails U.S. and South Vietnamese for conditions at Cay Dua jail, a prisoner of war compound on Dao Phu Quoc in the Gulf of Thailand where about 25,000 prisoners are detained. A North Vietnamese statement declares,

"The prison regime is very harsh. The average space given to each prisoner is less than one square metre. The inmates have to eat, sleep and relieve themselves right in their cells and lie on their sides. They are fed rotten rice, decaying dried fish and half a litre of water daily. . . No water is available for the prisoners' washing or baths. . . The wardens have resorted to various methods of torture: burning the prisoners' bellies, slicing their flesh, plucking off their teeth with pincers, driving needles through their fingernails, through their tongues and genitals, binding their hands on their backs and then throwing them into the water, putting them into bags then exposing them in the sun till death. They used clubs, gun butts, hobnailed shoes and hammers to strike the prisoners on their vital points, poisoned their drinking water, bled them to death, threw the victims into boiling water, put them into bags then burned them, etc. . . . They have also built a kind of open-air tiger cages with barbed wire high enough for a sitting prisoner. In a row of tiger cages four square metres, the warders squeeze 20 persons."

U.S. military missions are stationed at prisoner of war camps, including the one at Dao Phu Quoc. The International Red Cross makes periodic inspections, but reports are sent to governments and are not made public. There has not been an independent investigation of this prison; members of Congress who saw the tiger cages at Con Son did not go to Dao Phu Quoc.

that the CIA may have helped to oust a leftist government in Guatemala and concludes with a statement outlining the problems of underdeveloped countries and indicating how Weyerhaeuser's development of timber resources can help.

"All in all, a first-rate performance. Write to Tom Ambrose, public affairs manager in Tacoma, to see how to handle a tough job."

**Brains:** Drafts for 1972 Presidential campaign brain trusts provide the following early lineups. Muskie: ZBigniew Brezezinski and Marshall Shulman of Columbia; McGovern: Galbraith, George Wald, Abe Chayes and Schlesinger of Harvard, Richard Wade of CCNY, George Kahin of Cornell, Gabriel Almond of Stanford, Saul Bellow and Serge Lang; Bayh: Tomas Schelling of Harvard, Robert Solow and William Kaufman of MIT and Robert Turner of Indiana University. • General Motors is buying intellectuals for a new publicity image. Its new science advisory committee is led by Charles H. Townes, Nobel Laureate Physicist of the University of California. Others in the group are: Raymond F. Baddour, head of Chemical Engineering and director of the Environmental Laboratory at MIT; Lee A. DuBridge, Nixon's first science advisor and former president of Cal Tech; Martin Goland, president of Southwest Research Institute; Robert S. Morrison, Professor of Science and Society and Professor of Biology at Cornell; and Robert L. Sproull, president of Rochester University and former director of the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency. The committee will report to the GM Executive Committee and according to the company will advise on "policies and activities concerning basic and applied research, including in particular the effects of GM's operations and products upon the environment." Pay will be at least $10,000 a year.

**Conservation Notes:** If enacted, Nixon's revenue-sharing plan probably would undercut his proposed conservation reforms. Revenue-sharing would not require states to observe ecological safeguards in their use of federal funds. On the federal level, foreign aid already is exempted from such considerations, although other federal programs are meant to take environmental considerations into account. Foreign aid, of course, is an ecological horror show, strewing around the world a string of dams, utilities and agriculture projects, including the Mekong Delta abortion. • Conservationists who opposed drilling off Santa Barbara enthusiastically endorsed Nixon's choice of William Pecora as Undersecretary of Interior. But as head of the Geological Survey, Pecora was largely responsible for the disaster at Santa Barbara. He argued for giving out leases to begin with, and even after the disaster said it was a good idea. Here he is stubbornly arguing with Muskie at Senate hearings in 1969. Muskie: "Do you conclude, therefore, that the Santa Barbara incident has no connection with the earthquake history in this area?" Pecora: "I shall state that in my judgment the earthquake history of the area has no bearing on the drilling problem insofar as the risk is involved as per your question. . . Whether or not there are earthquakes in the Santa Barbara region or elsewhere in California should have no implication as an undue risk factor in drilling." • If there is an energy shortage this year it won't be because the electric utilities tried to prevent it. Last year they spent $320 million on advertising and sales promotion, thereby increasing the demands on their systems, but only $41 million for research and development in ways to generate power. • Key conservation battles are shaping up around land use policy. Liberals, led by Morris Udall, want the federal government to control use of all land, both private and public. Nixon wants to give authority to the states. A deal probably will first take place around reform of the old mining act of 1872.

**Down on Women:** As in the past, the attack on welfare turns to enforced birth control. The Kansas state legislature recently passed a law which would offer any welfare mother $50 in cash if a licensed physician certified he has inserted an IUD into her. A woman on welfare will receive an additional $10 a year if a licensed physician certifies she is still carrying the IUD within her. The Kansas legislature, however, rejected a proposal which would have offered a welfare woman $500 for having a hysterectomy. In Tennessee a proposal before the legislature would deny welfare to any woman with illegitimate children unless she agreed to be sterilized.



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# HEROIN AND THE WAR

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**IcGovern has made himself a tool of the international ›mmunist conspiracy."** Vice President Ky

**am deeply disturbed by reports, including those contained the current issue of Ramparts Magazine, that the vast ajority of all heroin production comes not from Turkey, not om France or Mexico, but from Southeast Asia, and that S. policy and personnel, instead of discouraging this traffic, ve actually assisted its growth."** George McGovern

# VHAT IS THE STORY THAT MAKES KY SO UPTIGHT?

is Ramparts' report on "The New Opium War" which documents the connection between the heroin idemic at home and the war in Indochina.

**me, Newsweek** and the **New York Times** have each done major stories on the heroin epidemic. In all of em, the opium trail led to Turkey, despite readily available evidence that the major sources are to be found Southeast Asia. Only Ramparts was ready and willing to reveal the relation between heroin and the war:

. . At the very moment that public officials are wringing their hands over the heroin problem, Washington's n Cold War crusade . . . has already re-routed the opium traffic from the Middle East to Southeast ia and is every day opening new channels for its shipment to the U.S. . . . Who are the principals in this w opium war? The ubiquitous CIA whose role in getting the U.S. into Vietnam is well known but whose otal position in the opium trade is not; and a rogue's gallery of organizations and people—from an ium army subsidized by the Nationalist Chinese to such familiar names as Madame Nhu and ce President Nguyen Cao Ky."

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# Rebellion in Pakistan: Prelude to the Indian Revolution?

The Pakistan Army, which had been extremely lax and inefficient when it had been simply a question of saving Bengali lives during the big cyclone disaster, was now in an enthusiastic mood as it prepared to take thousands of Bengali lives. It massacred hundreds of unarmed civilians on the streets of Dacca; it bombed Dacca University and killed hundreds of students, hurriedly burying them in a mass grave; it even rampaged the straw dwellings of the city's poor, taking a heavy toll of lives.

by Tariq Ali

THE CRISIS IN PAKISTAN, which involves the military invasion and occupation of one part of the country by the other, is the logical outcome of political developments that have received little attention in the West, but whose consequences for the future of Asia are going to be considerable.

Created in 1947 out of the Muslim areas of the Indian subcontinent, Pakistan has from the beginning been an unviable state. It is composed of two parts separated by 1000 miles of Indian territory. East Pakistan, or East Bengal, contains 60 percent of the population; West Pakistan contains the seat of political and economic power for the country as a whole.

From the beginning of its existence Pakistan was beset by conflicts which became more and more insoluble. The first two decades of Pakistani history are a sordid story of palace intrigues in West Pakistan designed to prevent a general election which would give the East Pakistanis their elective majority. The 1958 coup d'état of General Ayub Khan was designed precisely to prevent this calamity from taking place, and for ten years he succeeded in preserving a somewhat precarious peace by blatant repression.

In 1968-69, a student uprising which lasted for three months succeeded in detonating a much wider rebellion involving the working class and the lower scales of the petty bourgeoisie, resulting in the downfall of Ayub Khan and his replacement by General Yahya Khan. But the latter was unable to take command of the situation and a big strike wave continued in both West and East. The only way to ease the situation was for the military

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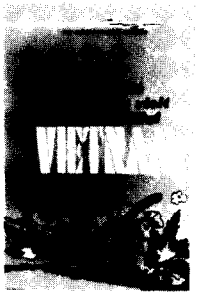


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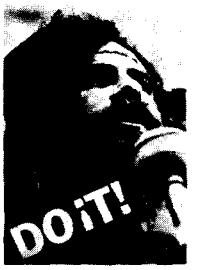


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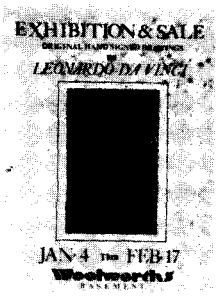


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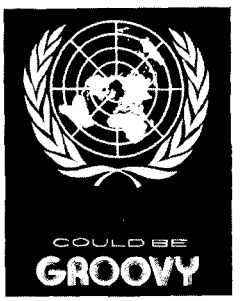


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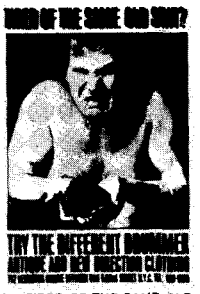


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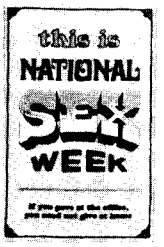


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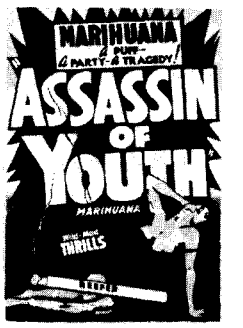


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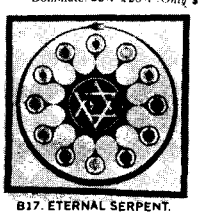

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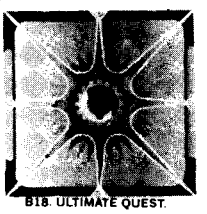

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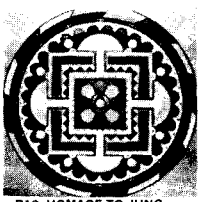

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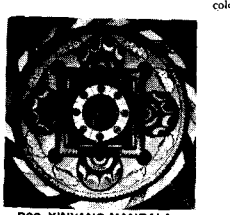

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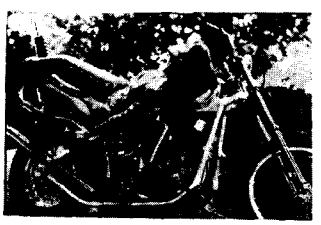

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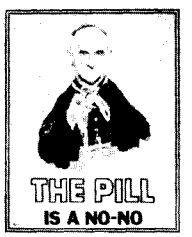


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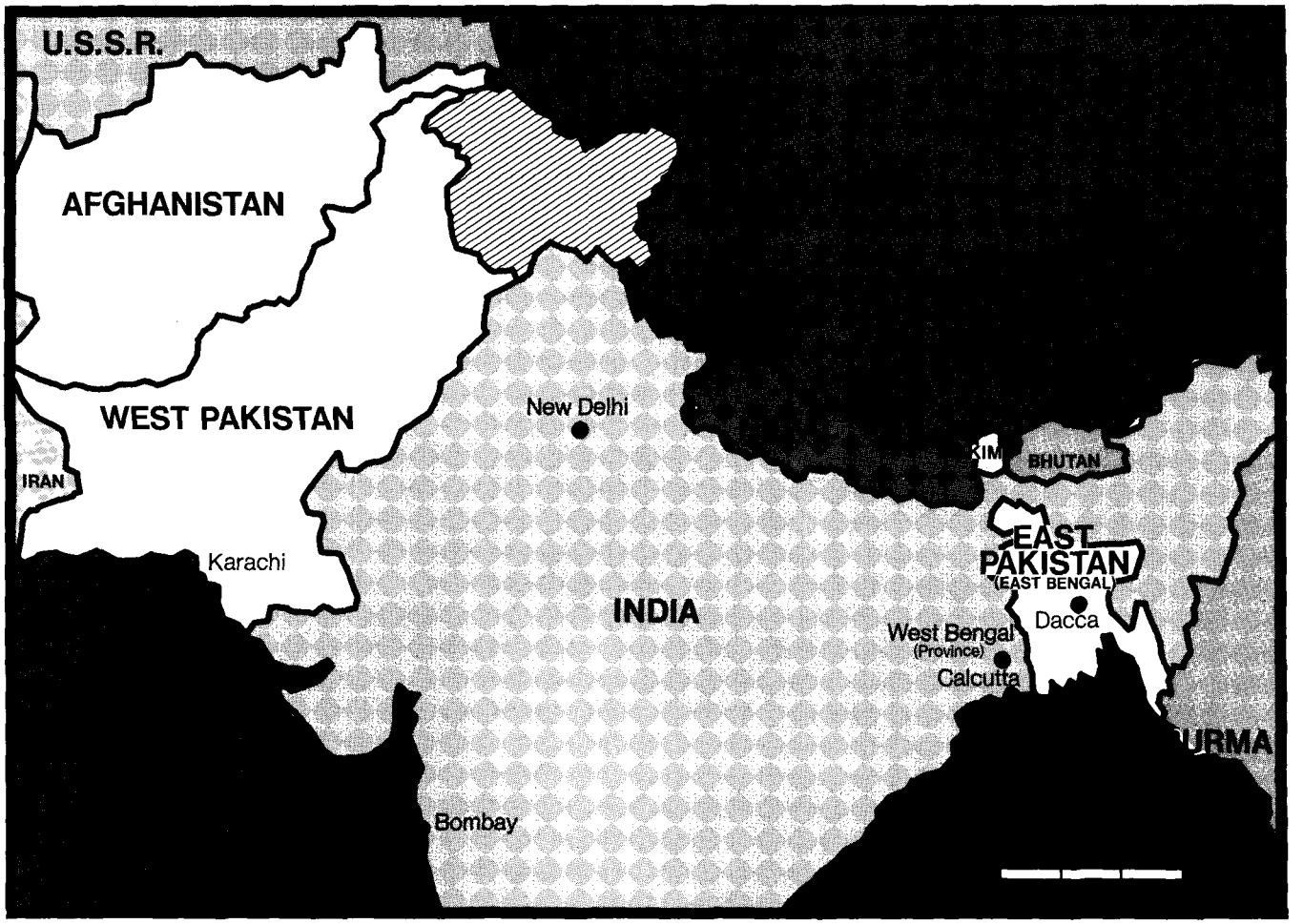


dictatorship to allow a general election in the hope that this would channelize the mass movement in a safe direction. Accordingly, one was held in December 1970; it resulted in the overwhelming victory of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League in East Bengal. The League won over 90 percent of the votes in the East, thus acquiring an overall majority throughout the country.

The general election results put the entire ruling class in a quandary. The overwhelming electoral victory of the Awami League augured ill for the forces that had dominated the life of the country for the past two decades. The Bengali economy was ruled by non-Bengali capitalists from West Pakistan. East Bengal became in effect a semi-colony of the West whose agricultural raw material subsidized the Pakistani capitalists and was used as a market for industrial goods produced in West Pakistan. Direct trade with India would have ensured the same goods at vastly cheaper prices for the Bengalis of East Pakistan, but the central government was obviously not keen on losing its profitable relationship.

The semi-colonial model was extended well beyond the economy. Bengalis were not allowed to serve in the Pakistani army, and Bengali representation was minimal. The reason for this was political, but the racist and chauvinistic attitudes of the Punjabi generals was another factor. In all government departments there was virtually no Bengali representation at middle and top levels. This spread to other areas: for instance, there are 26,000 hospital beds in West Pakistan and only 6000 in the East; three agricultural colleges in the West and one in the East; six universities in the West and four in the East; and so on.

All these grievances accumulated and brought out into the open the central importance of the national question. The Bengalis felt oppressed as a nation and looked towards the political parties which could lead them.

THE ONLY POLITICAL party which was capable of understanding the importance of the national question was the Awami League. In its policies the League was a right social-democratic formation (one of its leaders, H. S. Suhrawardy, had for a brief period been Pakistan's Prime Minister and had distinguished himself by supporting the invasion of Egypt in 1956), but with the period of the Ayub dictatorship, its new leaders had provided a semblance of opposition and Mujibur Rahman had been imprisoned by the Ayub regime. He had understood the key role which the national oppression of Bengal could play in its political life and his party drafted the famous Six-Point Program, which is in effect a charter of the Bengali petty bourgeoisie. The six points include provisions for a federal system of govern-



Map by John Williams

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ment and the restriction of taxing powers to the federating units. It was on the basis of the six points that Mujibur Rahman was accepted as the leader of *Bengla Desh* (the Bengali nation).

The left, which has traditionally been strong in the East, was suffering from both opportunism and sectarianism. The Communist Party was not official and the "communists" therefore worked through a liberal-radical formation called the National Awami Party (NAP). At the time of the Sino-Soviet split, the NAP held together, but it split in 1966. The pro-Moscow faction dedicated itself to the task of cultivating the Awami League and tail-ending it, because the time was ripe only for "bourgeois democracy." The pro-Peking faction took advantage of China's friendly relations with the Ayub dictatorship to opt out of any oppositional activity since Ayub was an "anti-imperialist." Thus there was no left force to pose a socialist and revolutionary program. By the time the pro-Peking groups realized what had happened, Mujibur Rahman had already established his political hegemony. The total inability of the left to comprehend the vitality of the national question until it was too late is partly responsible for the unpreparedness of the masses.

THE ELECTION victory of the Awami League in December 1970 set the stage for the ensuing crisis. Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfilcar Bhutto refused to attend a Constituent Assembly which had an Awami League majority unless the latter compromised on the six points. Quite understandably, the Bengalis refused to budge an inch. This resulted in the postponement of the Constituent Assembly and widespread rioting in East Pakistan. Awami League committees soon controlled the entire province except the military cantonments. It was impossible to travel to different parts of the country without the permission of the relevant League committee, and the writ of the central government had ceased to run. The Awami League governed the country like any bourgeois apparatus; but it was obvious that events were beginning to force them to the left, and at this stage the Pakistan Army decided on an invasion to crush the Bengali nation. Its spokesman-in-chief, Yahya Khan, was flown to East Pakistan, where he made a pretense of negotiating with Rahman for two weeks, thus providing a cover for thousands and thousands of troops to be flown in from West Pakistan.

Thus a new act in the Bengali tragedy was prepared. The Pakistan Army, which had been extremely lax and inefficient when it had been simply a question of saving Bengali lives during the big cyclone disaster, was now in an enthusiastic mood as it prepared to take thousands of Bengali lives. It massacred hundreds of unarmed civilians on the streets of Dacca (all the foreign newsmen, barring a UPI photographer, had been expelled beforehand so that they could not record the crime); it bombed Dacca University and killed hundreds of students, hurriedly burying them in a mass grave; it even rampaged the straw dwellings of the city's poor, taking a heavy toll of lives. The Bengalis fought back; but they had clearly not been prepared, and the resistance has so far been spasmodic. The leadership of the struggle is uncertain (Mujibur Rahman has evidently been arrested) and its politics can be judged by the fact that it has been sending urgent and impassioned appeals to the United Nations (clearly Katanga and Korea mean nothing to them). But fortunately that body is so dilapidated at the present moment that it cannot even be utilized as a counter-revolutionary force.

The brutal disfranchisement of the Bengali people by bayonets, bullets and jet bombers may have succeeded in inflicting a setback on the national movement, but it will only be a temporary one. East Pakistan is no Biafra. It contains a majority of the total population (75 million out of 130 million); it is 1000 miles away; and it has been invaded by a racist minority force. It is obvious that in the face of an embittered and hostile population the armed might of West Pakistani capital will begin to crumble in the near future. The Bengalis speak a different language, they have a different culture, a live and vigorous revolutionary nationalist tradition, and the only uniting factor—religion—has faded away into total insignificance. If it is also understood that the terrain of East Bengal is similar to the Mekong Delta region of Southern Vietnam and that the bulk of the land area is virtually impassable during the rainy season, one can appreciate the problems of an army miles away from its base of operations.

A protracted national liberation struggle, therefore, seems to be the only medium-term perspective. The key question is whether the Bengali masses will provide a leadership capable of conducting this struggle, and whether the pro-Peking elements will be able to play a leading role in its fruition.

IT IS CRYSTAL CLEAR that Pakistan as we have known it has ceased to exist. The length of its death agony is being decided today in the field of struggle. There are naturally other questions which are raised by the disintegration of a country which had no business to exist.

The pivotal position of Bengal vis-à-vis the entire subcontinent has not escaped the attention of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. She realizes full well that an independent East Bengal would have immediate repercussions on West Bengal, where the Naxalites have opened a guerrilla front and are actively engaged in armed struggle near the Indo-Pakistani border. [See RAMPARTS, April 1970: "Eruption in India"] The question of a united Bengal is therefore posed rather sharply. Given the political complexion of West Bengal, combined with the extremely weak bourgeois state apparatus in East Bengal, the specter of the permanent revolutionary process begins to haunt the forces of the status quo. That is why Mrs. Gandhi made demagogic noises in sympathy with the Bengali people at the time of the massacres. She understands perfectly that a united socialist Bengal would sound the death knell of Indian capitalism. It would be a red base, a Yenan for the entire subcontinent that is India.

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*Tariq Ali is the author of* The New Revolutionaries: A Handbook of the International Left; *and* Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power, *both published by William Morrow & Co.*



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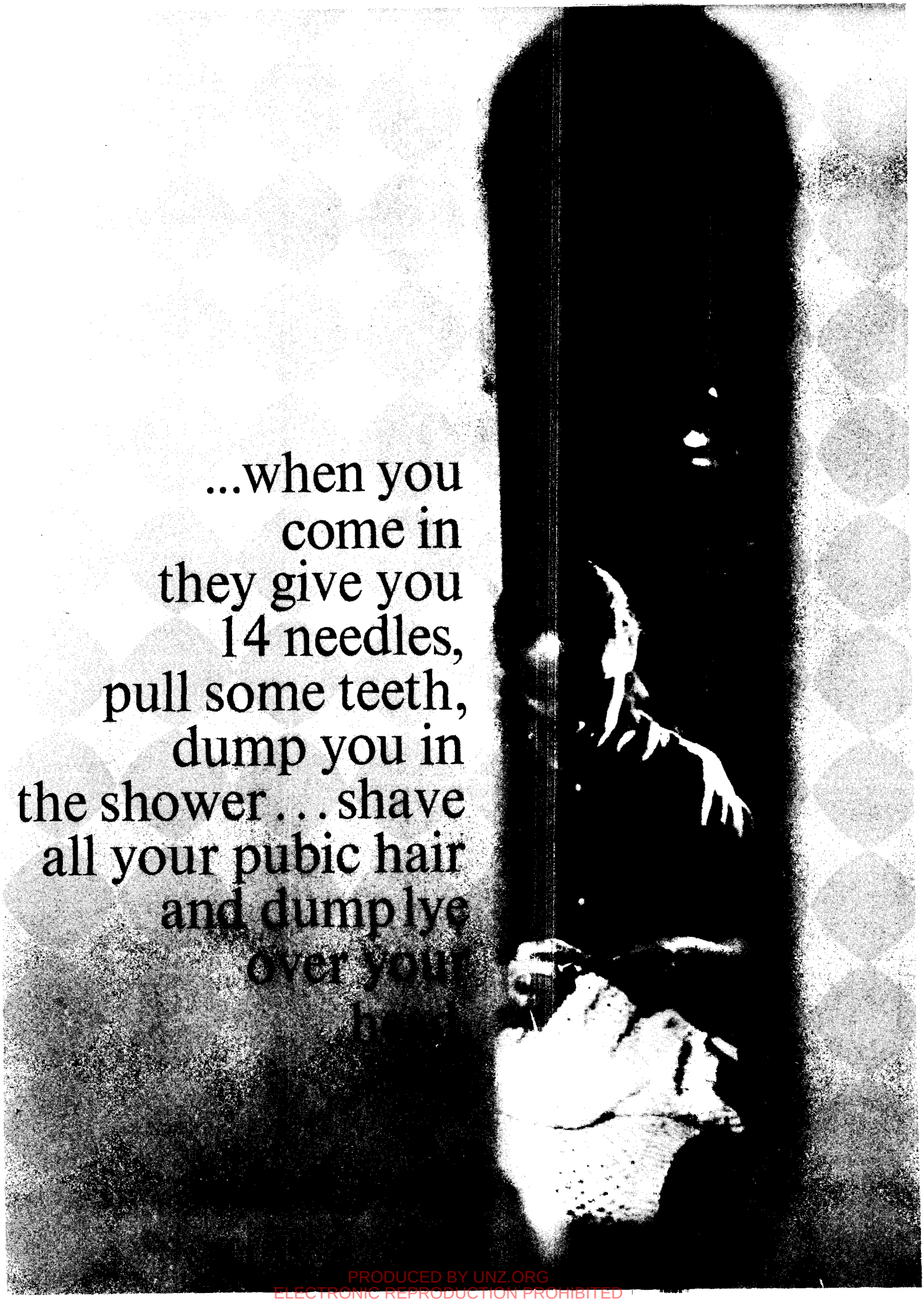


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# Women in Prison

"EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY: One napkin is to be issued each girl per day. She may separate it into three parts or use it as is . . . for her three meals." The sign on the wall of the state prison for women was addressed to all cottage guards. It came from the superintendent.

Other rules were outlined in the Manual of Information: "Girls who smoke may have cigarettes at breakfast, one at 10:00 A.M., at dinner, one at 3:00 P.M. and at supper and in the living room before retiring. In the evening you have a chance to relax by crocheting, tatting, singing, playing cards, reading or chatting. . . . At 8:45 P.M., the group recites the Lord's prayer, and then prepares for bed. . . ."

When they exist, the manuals for women in prison read the same: "This institution is for the rebuilding of character and the restoring of one's self to a former or a new condition of life as a better citizen."

"What really happens is that when you come in they give you 14 needles, pull what teeth they think need pulling, dump you in the shower with your mouth full of blood, shave all your pubic hair and dump a lye disinfectant over your head," Connie Powers, a 19-year-old heroin addict from Philadelphia told me recently at Muncy—Pennsylvania's State Correctional Institution for Women.

"They give you a number and then they lock you in your room for two weeks in solitary confinement—and that's a bitch. During the two weeks they wake you up at 5:00 A.M. for a shower and then you're supposed to go back to bed until 7:00, when you get up and wash your floor and wait for breakfast. That's your welcome to the institution.

"The first time I cried in here was one night when Phyllis was arguing downstairs. She knew the male guards would be coming, and they did. They went in, threw the shifaro (straight jacket) on her and sprayed mace into her face. That girl's 17 years old, and man, she's been here two years. After two years, any normal person would get up to scream and cry in her room.

"I thought I could get rehabilitated here, but all I'm doing is mopping floors in the administration building, cleaning their toilets and scrubbing the steps seven days a week. Do you think I can get rehabilitated here? I'm trying . . . I sing in the choir and I'm taking an English class. My back hurts a lot from scrubbing the floor, but when I went to see the doctor, he wouldn't give me anything for the pain. I think he thinks I just want to get high. They give tranquillizers out like they was water, but no pain-killer, not even for a toothache."

CONNIE IS ONE OF the hundreds of sisters and brothers in prison I talked to in the past two years while investigating the "criminal justice" system. I met Connie for the first time in Montgomery County Jail, near Philadelphia, where she had just gotten out of

by Kitsi Burkhart

Photographs by Michelle Vignes/BBM

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"the hole," a cell reserved for punishment. It is the same as other cells except that it is bare. It has no bed and the women are fed only one meal in 24 hours. Mornings and evenings they get bread and water. Connie'd been put into "segregation" for talking to a male inmate through the wall separating their cells. (The women's jail is one cellblock in the larger men's prison. They share no common facilities, only a wall.) She was warned not to talk to him, but she said when night came and he tapped on the wall, she couldn't resist. After the third warning, she was locked up for three days.

"If she keeps it up, she'll go right back in there," the male warden said of her. "She's a troublemaker. She's really created disturbances—getting the male inmates all worked up."

*To have spent time in a women's joint is to fully appreciate the status of women in 20th century America.*

Sisters sit in limited, cramped spaces in local jails—mostly awaiting trial. Some do up to two years in those joints. They do their sentenced time in state prisons and in the federal reformatory. In local and state joints, recreational facilities are almost unheard of. Educational and rehabilitation programs—offered to only an insignificant percentage of men in most of the institutions where they do exist—are not open to women. The excuse is lack of budget. Lack of staff. If men's prisons are an acknowledged failure, then women's joints are a disaster.

And so the women sit. Some play cards, some knit. From as young as 14 to as old as 88, some are simply locked into their cells 22 hours a day for lack of work or programs. Maintenance tasks assigned to them in some places, such as scrubbing floors and ironing male officers' uniforms, take up very little of their time. Occasionally a woman prisoner turns up pregnant after she's been behind bars for some time. In those cases, either a hush-up transfer of a guard is pushed through, or the woman somehow gets an abortion in a prison hospital. All off the record.

"Mostly we just sit around and get on each other's nerves," a woman in Broward County Jail in Ft. Lauderdale said last year. "We smell each other, we know each other. Once a month we get to shave our legs and once a week we get to watch television. But that's about it."

The jails for women include one federal reformatory, 28 separate state institutions for women, and 24 facilities for women which are under the control of the wardens of the male prisons in the state, including one federal institution for 1780 women on Terminal Island in California. The first separate prison for women—Indiana Women's Prison—was opened in 1873.

Since states require jails to provide separate facilities for women, women's cellblocks in most cities and counties throughout the country become tiny jails within the larger, antiquated jails. Across the U.S., there are some 7750 women in 3325 such jails and in five separate local jails for women. Only this year were those local jails even located in a census study by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. They found, for the first time, that some 1725 women are locked into local jails in California, 880 in New York, 551 in Florida, 517 in Texas, 431 in Michigan and 242 in Pennsylvania.

The only apparent advantage women have over men in America's penal system is that fewer of them are exposed to it. Because of the so-called "place" of women in our society —as housewives, mothers, and keepers of the home—fewer women are arrested for crimes in the first place. Still fewer are sentenced to prison terms. While seven men are arrested to every one woman in the country, the ratio widens to more than 30 to 1 at the prison level. Judges often recommend probation or other alternatives to incarceration for women offenders. Studies by the American Association of University Women determined that bail and fines tended to be higher and sentences longer for black women than for whites on similar charges. (One exception was that the courts seem more offended when white women practice prostitution.)

But whether women are white or black, Indian or Puerto Rican, prostitutes or drug addicts, check forgers or bank robbers, once they are handcuffed and ushered into concrete cells beyond the vision of the public they face the same dehumanizing prison conditions throughout the country. So little thought has been given to them that information on women behind bars is almost non-existent.

[II]

IN THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice—the most massive statement ever published on crime and corrections in America—there is no chapter or paragraph devoted to the female "offender." You look in vain through the main volume of the commission's reports, and its nine task force reports, for a word on women. A brief and unpublished consultants' paper was submitted, but none of it was used. In that paper, Walter C. Reckless and Barbara Ann Kay groped for the reason behind differential selection of women for prosecution and imprisonment and came up with "the chivalry factor":

"A large part of the infrequent officially acted upon involvement of women in crime can be traced to the masking effect of women's roles, effective practice on the part of women of deceit and indirection . . . and the willingness of men to 'cover up' for them and the unwillingness of the public and the law enforcement personnel to hold women accountable for their deeds . . ."

The most useful state survey of corrections and women in the U.S. has been prepared by the Pennsylvania division of the American Association of University Women. They found that the majority of women given criminal numbers in Pennsylvania commit crimes that are basically social problems. Society deals with these situations by making them illegal. More than half are charged with disorderly conduct, vagrancy, drunkenness or other minor offenses. In Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, probation officers estimate that 60 to 75 percent of their caseloads consist of women whose problem is drug addiction. They are arrested for prostitution, larceny, forgery, shoplifting, burglary—crimes that can be traced directly to their need for money to support a drug habit. Together with traffic violations, these offenses cover almost all the crimes charged against women.

Women in prison are not dangerous. On both the state and national level, crimes involving personal violence constitute only a small proportion of the cases against both women and men. Murder and manslaughter are offenses usually committed against family members or close associates. Almost every woman in for homicide is there for killing her man.



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Prison officials estimate that one percent or less of their prison population needs "maximum security confinement." Yet the controls for these few govern the lives of all the people inside the walls.

According to the AAUW study, approximately 80 percent of the women behind bars have children whom they support. Thus the system finances not only the incarceration of mothers deemed for the most part non-violent, but creates its own welfare recipients by imprisoning people who should be allowed to live and work in the community, rather than be isolated from it.

Not knowing where their children are, or whether they are being properly provided for, is one of the agonizing uncertainties mothers behind bars have to live with.

"No one's talked to me since I was sentenced," announced Judy Jacobs, as she sat in a small room in York County Jail in rural Pennsylvania. The morning before, she had been convicted of assault and battery on a man and sentenced to two years at Muncy. A 19-year-old mother of three, she was worried that her sister had run out of cereal to feed her children—and wasn't sure where her children were at the time. "What I'm afraid of the most is they're going to take my babies away. My mother said she would take care of the children, but I'm afraid they'll take them away from her 'cause she's on welfare."

Judy, who has a newborn child, a one-year-old and a two-year-old, was shaking and crying. A pale girl with long blond hair, she sat rubbing her hands and pulling at the skirt of her prison dress. "I don't want my kids to end up in a home. I was in two foster homes before I got married and it's really terrible. They put us in there mainly because my father was drinking and they thought he couldn't take care of us. There were 11 of us; two of my sisters have been in foster homes since they were born.

"I think I was sentenced on my background—more than on me," she said when I saw her the next time at Muncy [Pennsylvania Correctional Institute for Women] after the State had taken away her children. "My brothers have been in trouble before, and my dad . . . I'm just so embarrassed and ashamed about everything. My husband comes up here and sees all these studs and he says, 'Judy, have you been messing around?' What can I tell him? I've been slapped so many times up here because I wouldn't participate. If you fight back, you're crunched. And you can't tell the cops, 'cause it's just your word against hers . . . and you're both just inmates, so your word doesn't mean nothing. You just end up going to Clinton [solitary confinement] or getting set back with the parole board.

"It's to the point now where I almost don't wanna go back. What are we gonna be called when we go out? Sluts, criminals, homosexuals? They'll say, 'Wow, you've just gotten out of prison, I know what you've been doing!' "

LIKE JUDY, MOST OF the women in prison have come from families on welfare. They're poor. And anyone who doesn't understand the term "political prisoners" should go to prison to find out what it's all about. It's like visiting poorhouses, debtors' prisons, *that's* what it's all about.

The same day I talked to Judy Jacobs at Muncy, "Susan Scott" told me she had spent four months trying to find out what had happened to her children—after she was behind bars. When her caseworker from the Child Welfare Department in Pittsburgh finally did contact her, she would tell Susan only that her four-year-old had been placed in one foster home, her three-year-old in another.

"She didn't tell me who they live with, or where they live," Susan said. "She didn't tell me what kind of people they were or anything. The court sent me a letter and said I could write to my children through the caseworker. My mother wasn't notified anything about it either. I've written to them, but I still haven't heard anything and it's been over six months now. I finally sent a letter last week, saying if I don't hear soon, I have no alternative but to seek legal counsel—but you know how much good that will do! In that one letter from my social worker, she said she would see about my 'visiting' my children when I got out. Now how about that. I know I'll have a time getting them back when I do get out."

"When you're in trouble, it's the kids who pay for your crime," Evelyn Newman, from Philadelphia, said. "When I first came here [to Muncy] you couldn't visit with your children. It was four years before I saw them. And when I finally did see them, they didn't remember me. They pumped me with all kinds of questions . . . like what was our dog's name, and other questions only their mother would know. The dog's name was Troubles. Finally my little girl said, 'You *are* my mother.' "

Many women have delivered their babies inside prison walls. Mrs. Florence W. Spaulding, deputy superintendent at Muncy, has seen hundreds of babies born in her 21 years there. "We used to keep babies here for three months and then the Welfare Department was notified. No, the mothers didn't take care of them. We had girls detailed to the nursery, and the mothers had visits with them every day for up to an hour. If the girl's family couldn't take care of the baby or didn't qualify, the Department would place them in foster homes. They would notify the courts and arrange for placement. The whole thing was done with the approval of the Welfare Department."

"What about the approval of the mother?" I asked.

"This is a court problem," said Mrs. Spaulding. "It's up to the court, not the girl. She isn't capable of taking care of them. The girls don't usually want to give their babies up for adoption. They seem to think the baby is the first thing that really is theirs."

Although administrators deny it, they—and the courts—often encourage women behind bars to give their children up for adoption. Evelyn Newman is one woman who finally gave in to the pressure.

WHEN EVELYN WAS convicted of the conspiracy murder of her husband in 1959, her children were four years, five years, and 16 months. They were put in children's homes and shuffled from one place to another. Although she pled guilty under pressure (she said the DA threatened her with the electric chair) and didn't have a jury trial, her appeal for a new trial was denied. She was given a life sentence.

"I finally adopted out my baby," she said. "I didn't want to do it, it broke my heart. I couldn't bring myself to sign the papers, but they kept pressuring me. I felt I just couldn't



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sign my baby away—but I finally realized I was being selfish. I realized I couldn't be mother and father to him with the time I had . . . so I signed the papers and adopted Charles out."

When Evelyn Newman went up for commutation after ten years at Muncy, she had a good institutional record and was sure she would make it. Even her mother-in-law wrote a recommendation for her release to the State Commutation Board. ("She knew how her son treated me, and she wrote a beautiful letter on my behalf. Everybody was for me . . . except the State.") The Commutation Board didn't even give a reason; they only told her she was denied release. She was pretty bitter about the outcome. "I mean, I thought ten years with a good record should mean something.

"Sure, I got a lot of demerits—there's no angels in jail—but mine were always for contraband—perfume, makeup, eyebrow pencils, earrings. I had my connections and always got busted for it. I couldn't never understand why . . . something that a women wants and needs. But they wanted to strip you of your femininity. When my daughter found out I didn't get commutation, she got rebellious and ran away. I got bitter too, and decided I'd leave this joint of my own accord. That's when I got the additional time [five years] for attempted prison breach . . . and we didn't even get out. I just had the screen off my window. But the whole thing had taken me out . . . my mother said my daughter had asked, 'What does it feel like to have a mother?'

"As far as rehabilitation, they can't do that. They can get you up to a point of being sorry . . . but after that—they can overdo a thing. It's just one continual punishment . . . we're under double locks, no recreation, no radio, no television . . .

"There's nothing I can do about the commutation or the cruelty here. If you're a number, numbers don't talk. You're locked behind doors and your hands are tied. You can only say so much . . . and who's gonna take your word. Once you're condemned, it seems like you don't never have a chance again. . . ."

[ III ]

FOR THE LAST NINE MONTHS Evelyn Newman has been locked in Clinton—the maximum security jail at Muncy. A small stone fortress, it sits on a hill, away from the main "campus" of the prison grounds where prisoners live in 11 stone cottages. She and her "walkie," Irene Haskin, have been locked there since their attempted prison escape. They are in their cells most of the day, but are let out to scrub floors and work in the kitchen. They eat in their cells. Although a new administrator told them recently they could return to the general prison population, Irene and Evelyn chose to stay together in Clinton rather than be put in separate cottages.

"You can't find many friends in the world who are really right," said Irene, who "locks" in a cell next to Evelyn's. "So unless they put us both back in the same cottage, we'll just stay here. The cops spend most of their time worrying about 'ducky' [homosexuality]. They don't have to see a thing . . . if they 'surmise' it, they'll move one person or ride her so bad until, bang, she blows her steam and gets it out and then they move her into solitary confinement. They're

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doing it themselves, but they down the girls for it.

"Girls are afraid half the time to even hold hands. The guards know if they look for trouble they'll find it. If they see you sitting too close, they'll say move over . . . Also, there are rats in the cottage that watch you when the cop's not around. I think they try to tear down friendships—maybe out of envy. They're always riding you—either you're anti-social or you're too friendly."

Irene, who is 32 years old, has been in prison since she was 15. At that age, she was charged with highway robbery and assault and battery.

"I was 15 and I didn't know any better. I was with two older women and they dropped the weight on me. The judge gave me juvenile time—18 months and then I'd go out on parole. But those were the days of indeterminate sentences for women—and after I turned 18, these people turned my time into ten years. When I got out in '65 I got busted on a burglary. And in 1966, I escaped from here with another girl. We went to New York and got busted there for an attempt to rob a cab driver. I spent two and a half years at the House of Detention in New York and in Bedford. Then I got sent back here for the prison breach."

Irene's time should be up in 1974. She writes poetry and is working on a book. She hopes to do some singing and recording when she gets out. She told me I was her first visitor in more than ten years.

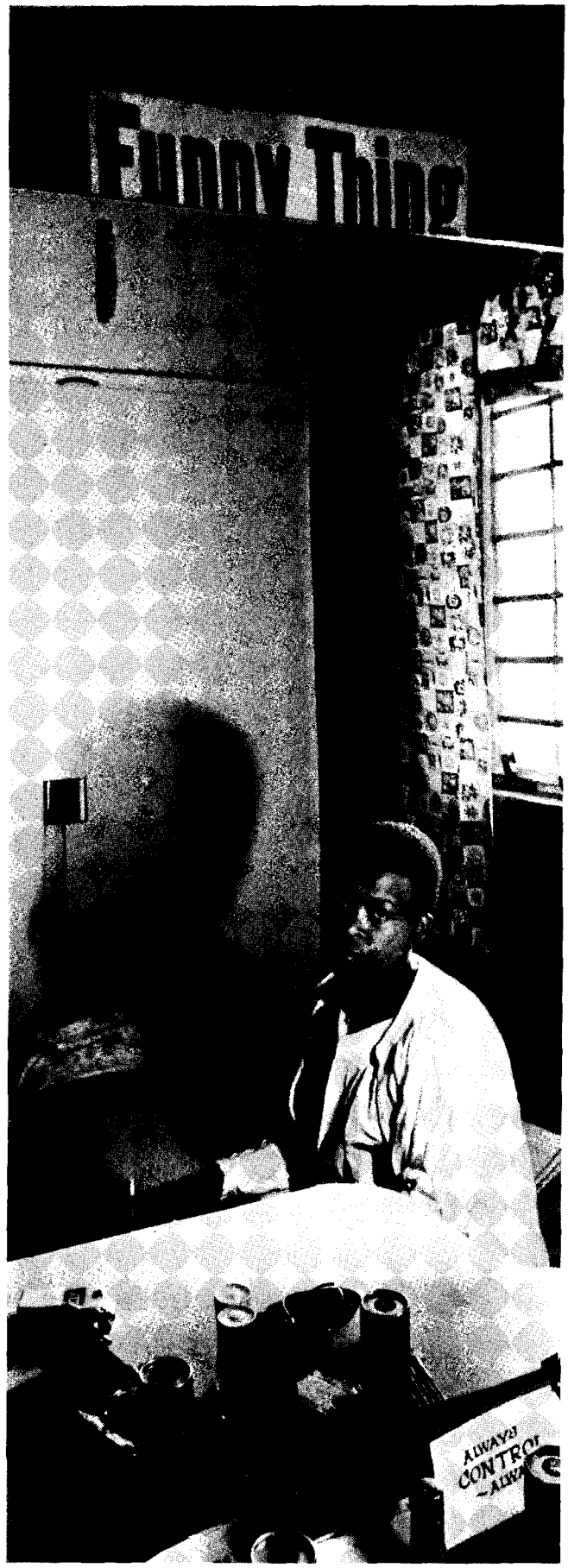
MRS. SWISHER HAS been in charge of the punishment prison at Muncy for more than ten years. She usually has 20–25 "disciplinary problems" at a time.

"When I first came up, we had 30 or 40 girls at a time," she said. "Up here they don't go out. They're confined except in the summertime, when we let them go out and sweep the walk. They can't go down to general population for movies or anything. They stay here. They don't work on the outside either. They have kitchen work to do here . . . cleaning, trays to wash and silver to wash, linens to distribute . . . *the same as in your own house practically.*"

Mrs. Swisher's grey-brown hair is pulled back from her thin, grey face—worn tired by the years inside prison walls. One gets the feeling that the work has taken what spirit she had and made her into a reflection of the stone and coldness of Clinton. Mrs. Swisher, who has daughters 32 and 25 years old, says the reason girls are sent to Clinton by "the behavior clinic" is usually for fighting and homosexuality.

"A girl has to have friends," she says, "but when they get to a point of getting to be homosexuals, we try to separate them. You have a good idea when they have gone too far. Some are born that way and can't really help it . . . or maybe if they're not born that way they just acquire it at an early age. It's funny though that a lot of women who come in as homosexuals and are attached to a woman on the outside they lived with won't get involved with anyone here."

Mrs. Swisher said she "probably wouldn't encourage" conjugal visits or home furloughs for women: "It might be all right for the men, but it's going to make a whole lot of more work for the state nine months later if they allow women out. I worry about the dope involved and that the girls would get pregnant." Mrs. Swisher excused herself to wait on some of the male guards who had come up to Clinton's dining room



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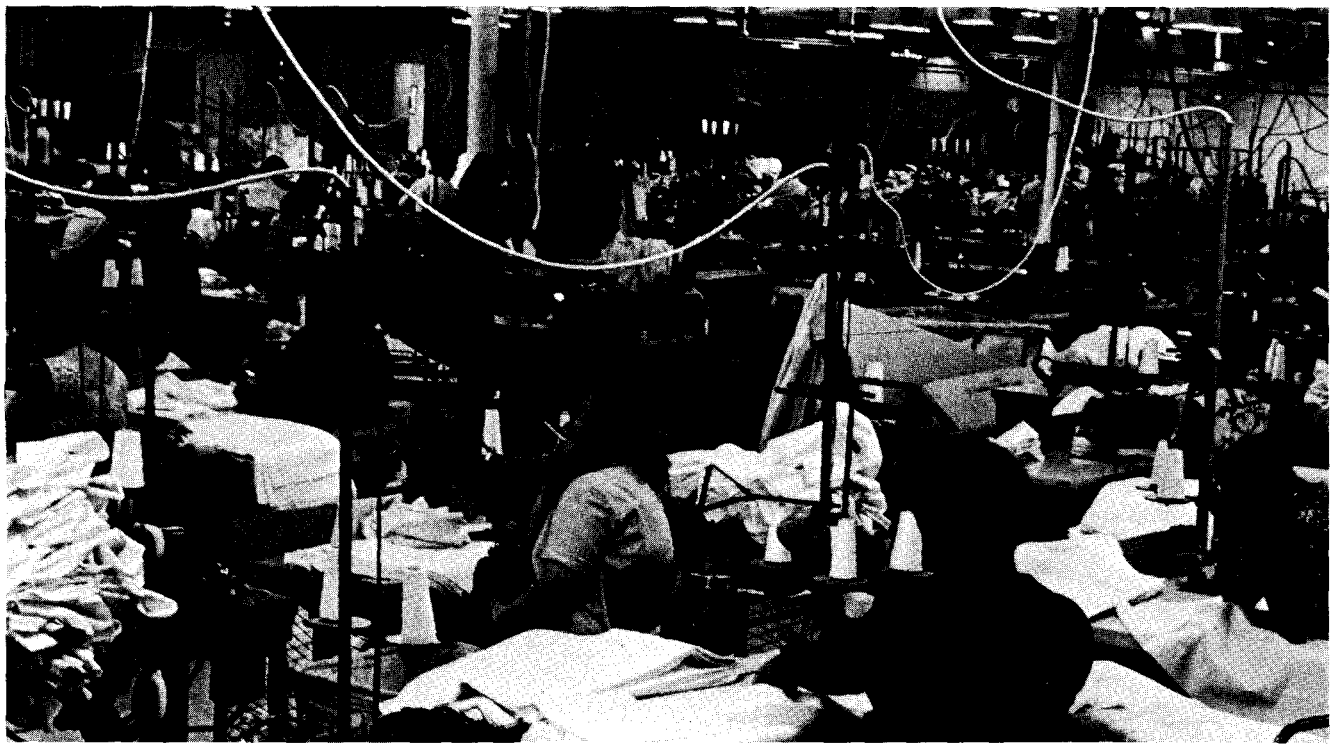

to eat. I asked her why, if she was the matron, she would wait on guards. "It's nice, since he's a man, to pour his coffee and serve his food," she said as she went into the kitchen.

A Puerto Rican sister who served three years at Niantic, Connecticut, and is now an "ex-con," talked about her first prison experience, stemming from a conviction for burglary and larceny. "I figured when I went in—oh wow, lifers and tough women, I wouldn't want to talk to them—but they're just like us." She said that a lot of women in prison get into homosexual relationships because of the unnatural living situation, feelings of dependency, self-condemnation and loneliness. "It's not like forced, but it happens. It happens to women who would never get into that sort of thing on the street. Women start looking up to some of the tougher women because they've always been made to feel dependent on masculinity. We've been told for so long that males are where it's at, so a strong, masculine woman has a growing appeal after you haven't seen men for so long. It's comforting to find someone to sort of look out for you. You get to longing for affection—for some kind of meaningful relationship."

"Everybody here is going with someone," said another young sister at Muncy. "At first it shocked me and I got really upset. It still upsets me to see a 14-year-old going with a 40-year-old woman. It's so corrupting and it's so wrong. But it's really like nothing, it's so small. At least it gives you something to look forward to in here. Like you can think, 'I'm going to work tomorrow and I can see her.' I'm gonna be involved . . . I know I will . . . but really, it's nothing in the whole context of the thing. Already Pearl has been giving me cigarettes . . . and I take 'em. God knows I need 'em. When I think of her, I really think of her as a man . . . and to be truthful, I dig her notes and her attention."

[ IV ]

THE "BING," "HOLE" OR "strip cell" is a common lot to all women prisoners. Varying little from jail to jail across the country, these cells are usually windowless and bare. In some joints women are allowed a mattress on the floor of these cells—where they are kept 24 hours a day, often without cigarettes or reading material. Many times, however, even the "luxury" of a mattress is denied them. Besides "bulldagging" and "ducky," fighting and disobedience are the usual reasons for being put into punishment cells. Male guards are called in to "handle" these disciplinary violators, and they are the ones who transport these women to seclusion.

The guards and the matrons in charge flush the toilets—three times a day if you're lucky—from the outside. They serve food rations on paper plates or in a tin bowl.

The charges against the women in punishment cells are often petty (depending on the officer in charge, women know they can be sent to the "hole" for: impudence to officers, disobedience, quarreling, fighting, profanity, lying, dishonesty, breaking dishes—accidentally or carelessly—wearing stained clothing, being "unclean about person or room," engaging in sex play or in "degrading and abnormal" sex acts, being late, calling across campus to another inmate, refusing to take medicine, or writing obscene notes). Rarely do women have a right to disciplinary hearings. At Alderson women are allowed to be represented by either another inmate, a staff member or a lawyer—but this is rare. Often in state or local jails women are kept in punishment for weeks, months and sometimes longer—without legal recourse.

Occasionally women are locked into solitary for more exotic charges—such as the time the legendary Theresa



Photograph by Kitty Caparella

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Derry (whose prison name was Shelley Collins) decided to take a bath in a female officer's bathtub: "It was hot and I was tired of taking a shower standing on the bare concrete floor," Terry said. "So I went up to Miss Taylor's room in the administration building, filled the tub with water and bubble bath and crawled in. The girl who was my lookout fell asleep and the next thing I knew, Miss Taylor came up, opened the door and asked me 'What do you think you are doing?!' 'What the fuck does it look like I'm doing? I'm taking a bath.' " For her crime, Terry spent four months in solitary confinement.

Another Terry Derry story—told by both officers and residents at Muncy—concerns the time an officer came into Terry's room and saw a picture of a black child on her mirror. The cop took the picture and told Terry it was against regulations for a white prisoner to have a picture of a "colored" in her room. Terry said, "You put my daughter right back where you found her or I'll kick your ass till you won't forget it." The guard hesitated too long, and Terry gave her two black eyes and knocked a tooth out. She got six months. "Having a black husband isn't something you advertise to officers in a place like Muncy," she said.

[ v ]

LIKE MANY JAILS FOR WOMEN, Muncy has no black staff. Although 47 percent of the prisoners there are black, and even more are from urban areas, the staff is rural and white—largely middle-aged housewives who have no professional background or training. (Salaries for women correctional officers start at $6510 to $8721 a year, while male correctional guards start at $7177 to $9618.) Until recent years, inmates say the guards had no compunction about calling black inmates "nigger" and "coon" to their faces. Now the prejudice is more subtle.

"You can feel the racism," said Merdas Scott, a 27-year-old mother of two from Chicago. She was sentenced to two years on a first-offense possession and violation of the Uniform Firearms Act. "I don't let it bother me, but I'd like to see it change. Just things like naturals—they let you know how they feel about them, even though they don't outright tell you not to wear them." Merdas, who is presently working in the beauty shop, said her supervisor told her, "I don't like the Afro haircuts." "She was telling me she didn't want me having one and working in there . . . so I'm not wearing one. But when this grows out, I'll wear one again. The racism isn't done openly . . . not like it used to be. But it's all the little things that wear on you . . . It's not the girls at all, it's the officers who keep up the confusion."

In every jail and prison I've visited, black and white inmates were close friends—and realized their common oppression. They all denied that racial differences created tensions between the girls—but said that officers, matrons and guards continually try to stir up "racial" problems. "It's to their advantage if we're divided," one sister observed. "Then it's easier for them to keep us under control. But together, baby, they've got something to contend with. We don't let 'em put it over on us. We know where the struggle's at."

Puerto Rican and latin sisters feel the racism on another level because they are not allowed to speak Spanish. Generally, they are not allowed to read or write letters in Spanish (because the censors can't read Spanish), subscribe to Spanish newspapers or magazines, or converse with visitors or friends in Spanish. (Just as in the Broward County Jail, in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, and in most other prisons in the South, black women aren't even allowed to read *Ebony* or *Jet*, let alone other black literature.)

Lydia Amado, a Puerto Rican woman from New York, is one of 127 federal prisoners "on contract" to a state penitentiary. A bakery worker, she looks forward to another year in prison on charges of conspiracy to sell narcotics and stamping bags with a federal seal.

"We're not allowed to speak Spanish—even though there's one Cuban girl, one South American girl and two other Puerto Rican girls here who don't speak English well except for 'yes, yes.' It's not so bad for me since I speak some English, but I speak Spanish anyway when the matrons aren't around.

"One day another girl and I were talking and an officer snuck up and yelled, 'No foreign languages can be spoken here on the farm.' I told him, 'It's not a foreign language to me.' They make you feel you're a foreigner because you can't speak English. I tell them, 'As far as I'm concerned, *you're* all foreigners.' But my attitude here is, since you have to do time, why be miserable . . . so I get along pretty good."

A RELATIVELY NEW "minority" in prisons is women imprisoned for their involvement in anti-war and anti-Establishment political actions—burning draft files or destroying federal property. Most of them are at Alderson, the Federal Reformatory for Women which is tucked into a valley in the West Virginia mountains. Although they are first offenders, their sentences amount to more time—heavier sentences and parole time—than the average federal offender. But in terms of discrimination in prison, their lot is not so bad.

They are, for the most part, wealthy or middle-class white girls with college degrees who have parents, friends and lawyers on the outside. At Alderson, they are known as "the peace girls." There is very little prison "resistance" at Alderson because there, unlike state and county facilities, they are not forced to work or to eat. (Under the Slave Emancipation Act of 1865, slavery and involuntary servitude were abolished for everyone except convicted criminals—so in most places prisoners are required to work for no wages, or for 10–25 cents a day.) At Alderson, the majority of women work in the garment factory, which makes uniforms for federal men's prisons, and linens and uniforms for the Veterans Administration. Others do keypunch operating, sew clothes for release, work in the laundry, or do clerical or maintenance jobs around the prison yard—to the tune of a $2.5 million a year business. Inmates make from 19 cents a day to $10 a month.

At Alderson, the only "absolute" is to be in the proper place at "count" time: guards count prisoners at 8:15 A.M., 1:15 P.M., 4:15 P.M., after supper, at twilight, at 10:00 P.M., 12:00 midnight, 3:00 A.M. and 6:00 A.M.

In general, other women prisoners at Alderson are down on the "peace girls" for "elitist attitudes" and being unable to relate to the masses of women they live with. A friend and a Weatherwoman (whose full name I can't use because of a Public Information Act forbidding signed quotes or



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pictures of federal prisoners in publications "in the interest of the inmate's protection") talked about Movement people in jail:

"I'm really frightened by Movement people coming into jail. They still have the rhetoric after months and months down here . . . and they don't lose that elitist thing.

"When I did the action in '69, I thought it was necessary to go to jail for what you believe, but not now. I think you need to stay in the streets and deal with the people on a grass-roots level. You have to deal with people's needs—whether it's writing letters to people's families, or what . . ."

Margaret is working now as a teaching assistant and a tutor to fellow inmates working on their GED high school equivalencies and in basic education. "A lot of the girls tell the other women that education is just part of the pig system and it's no good. But for so many of these women, education is everything. A high school diploma might at least give them an opportunity to get a job other than one on the streets doing tricks or hustling.

"Maybe it's different for me, because my family was on welfare and we were poor . . . so I know what it's all about. I was driving a truck before I came in and I don't plan ever to come back to jail again . . . the work is in the streets. Movement people, if they're committed, have to be saying they're not coming back again."

An older prisoner from Washington, D.C., who has spent almost 20 of her 43 years in joints of one sort of another, said Margaret seemed different "from the general run of peace girls. That's what's wrong with political people here; they can't talk to people in their own room—let alone the general population."

As we sat in Margaret's room talking, Granny, an older inmate, came in with some homemade fudge. Two English sisters (charged with conspiracy to bring drugs into the U.S.) and several others stopped by—to talk or to get Margaret to help them with a math problem. "They don't have enough time to study," Margaret said. "They work all day in the factory and are so tired and then they put in all their own time to finish their lessons.

"I've really come to appreciate women since I've been here. There are so many women taking raps for men . . . and there's such a chance to learn here. You could just sit and talk forever with women about their lives and thoughts."

Unlike most jails, Alderson permits women to decorate their rooms and wear their own clothes. Margaret's room was covered with posters and cards; it looked a lot like a room on a college campus. "Your room really becomes you . . . it's about the only thing you have . . ." Margaret said.

[ VI ]

OF ALL THE PLACES THAT incarcerate women, Alderson is perhaps the best of the worst. Inmates attribute that to Virginia McLaughlin, the only woman superintendent in the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Inmates call her "Mac" or "Mrs. Mac"—and say she's willing to give them a lot more responsibility than many of them are willing to handle.

In addition to being permitted to wear their own clothing or set up their own work programs, inmates are allowed to have radios in their rooms, watch television any time of the day they're not working, have a four- to five-day home-furlough to take their babies home after delivery, and eat a pork-free diet if they practice Islam or prefer pork-free meals. While Alderson may be less rigid than other institutions, no one there forgets she's in prison.

"I guess the most sickening thing about this place is that it doesn't offer any alternatives for the women," Margaret said. "A lot of women say, if the only thing they can offer me here is going back to the rafters in the garment factory, I'm going back on the streets when I get out. You take street people and throw them down in these mountains and hust-



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ling, dealing and the same things go on here. And then they go down on the streets again, and the same thing just continues."

For "fun," prisoners make homemade hootch manufactured from fruit purchased from the Commissary and sugar stolen from the dining room, get high on saved-up cramp pills or get involved in homosexual relationships. One prisoner wrote that her own activities "to help me maintain sanity are: fluting, dancing, masturbating, sleeping." Some girls get singing groups together or dance out their tensions.

"I don't like jails," said Mrs. McLaughlin, "and I'm not going to defend them. There is no jail in the world that's any good. They're bad places and you're in them against your will. If you're black, poor or a woman in 20th century America, the dice have been loaded against you. But I believe that you can learn and grow in any experience . . . in Nazi concentration camps, people survived and learned.

"So I tell the women in here that they're each a unique individual. Every human being hurts. No one has a corner on that market . . . every human being hurts and every human being dies . . . and we all end up in a pine box somewhere. But the important thing is to accept people as people and not for the role they're in. Life is lived by yourself, and there are some things no one shares with you . . . so it's important to live with yourself. I tell the women you can spend all your time here fighting the cops and the system . . . or you can reach out for the things in this system which can be of benefit to you. I just want you to do your best here so you can go out and not spend the rest of your life in these joints."

And getting out is what it's all about. Ask 10,000 women prisoners, "What do you want?" and the answer would consistently be: "OUT."

BUT WHAT WOMEN FACE WHEN they get out is another trip. When Angela Davis gets out of prison (which at this point looks more like *if* than *when*), she will be a heroine. And rightfully so, because she stands beside thousands of other sisters who, like her, don't belong behind concrete walls—who, like her, are political prisoners. But when those sisters—like Evelyn Newman and Judy Jacobs and Lydia Amado and Betty Barfield and Connie Powers and Merdas Scott and Ethel Gore and Fran Blackwell and Junett Jaddy-Bey—get out, no crowds will be waiting for them. No fans and admirers will cluster around them, congratulating them for surviving in beautiful spirit such a dehumanizing, deadening experience. For thousands of them, no one at all will be waiting. No one will be home—there *is* no home—to welcome them. In fact, most of them will be shunned as ex-cons and will be denied jobs because of their prison records—even though the offense rarely has any relationship to the position applied for. They'll find their families and their men have grown tired of waiting.

"When I got out of there—after nearly four years away from civilization—I felt like I was walking around with a big tag on me: *Look at me. I just came out of prison,*" Terry Derry said, six years after she left Muncy.

"They take a city girl and put her in prison and she picks tomatoes for four years—it's oblivion—and then they send her back to the city as 'socially adjusted.' I was so 'adjusted' that even the bus ride back to Philadelphia scared the shit out of me—the noise and the people talking and moving around. I just shut my eyes and prayed to survive the trip.

"After I didn't see my family for so long, everything seemed so strange to me . . . and it was so hard to adjust. I really wanted to be a totally different person from when I had gone in. I had studied so hard. I had decided I wanted to be a registered nurse and a good mother. I could tell you every bone in the body by name, and exactly how the circulatory system works. I came out with all these dreams . . . and then started getting doors slammed in my face.

"But I was fortified because I had a husband who was my inner strength . . . who loved me . . . and I had a daughter who loved me and needed me. And I was determined to do right by her.

"I never saw my own mother. I still don't know who she is. She's a big family secret in my house. Nobody will talk about her or tell me who she is. . . .

"I remember when I was 13 and I was sitting on the front steps of my grandmother's house. My father said, 'Put on your shoes, I'm going to take you downtown with me.' We got into the car and went to the police station and I kept asking him, 'What are we doing here?' He told me to hush, he had business to take care of. Then one of the policemen took me and told me to wait in this little room. I was waiting in this little room for him to finish his business and then I looked out the window and I saw my father walking towards the car.

"I screamed to him, where was he going, why was he leaving me. He never turned around . . . he just kept walking to the car and then he got into the car and drove off. He never told me I was an 'incorrigible' child . . . and Lord knows at that age I didn't know I had any problems or what they were. I just know he left me there. From there I was sent to the Youth Studies Center and from there to Slaten Farms for Girls . . . and on to all the rest of the joints."

Presently Terry is working in Philadelphia as a court-prison administrator for a release on recognizance program funded by the Pennsylvania Program for Women and Girl Offenders. She goes into the prisons to interview women awaiting trial who can't raise bail. She tries to work out problems with them and arrange for their release on recognizance. She uses her own house as a center for women who have nowhere else to go.

"If you have a sick or stray animal you can call the SPCA, but try to find a place for a woman just out of prison . . . and you learn there ain't no such creature. I don't know—this work is like my blood to me—I can relate to these women 'cause we've all come out of the same bag. I can tell them honestly they haven't done half the things I've done. I've done it all, and baby, I've come through it alone. I didn't have no mother to hold my hand.

"For a while I tried to deny my past, I wanted to be totally new and all that. But then I told myself, 'Look, girl, you've done all these things, they're part of your past.' I'm not wearing it all as a badge of honor, but then who should go to jail? Me at 13? Huh-uh, baby; not me or nobody else."

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*Kitsi Burkhart is a reporter for the Philadelphia Bulletin. She has written extensively on the prison system.*



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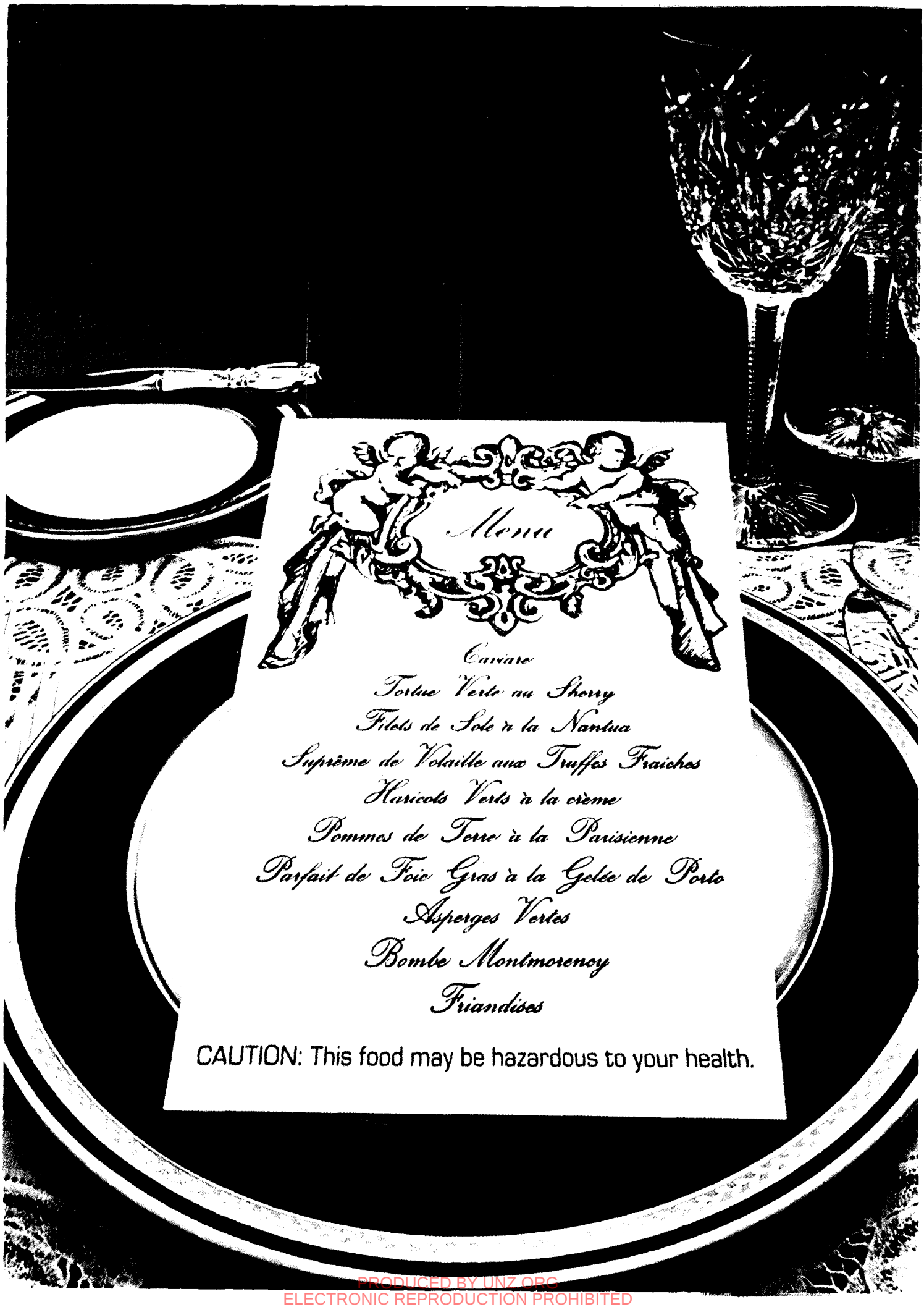
Menu
Caviare
Tortue Verte au Sherry
Filets de Sole à la Nantua
Suprême de Volaille aux Truffes Fraiches
Haricots Verts à la crème
Pommes de Terre à la Parisienne
Parfait de Foie Gras à la Gelée de Porto
Asperges Vertes
Bombe Montmorency
Friandises
CAUTION: This food may be hazardous to your health.

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# Museums: Art for Who's Sake?

[PROLOGUE]

"CUT DOWN? MY DEAR FELLOW, forgive me, but you don't know what you are talking about. If there is one thing interesting—remarkable indeed—in the whole province, it's just our cherry orchard." So spoke Lyubov, a character in Anton Chekov's *The Cherry Orchard*, the drama of an aristocracy overwhelmed by the loss of its prized cherry orchard to unsophisticated and undeserving masses.

In 1970, museums are cherry orchards, although this is contrary to their own self-image. If European museums were the depositories for great paintings acquired through centuries of royal patronage and plunder, American museums were to be democratic—places where the masses could come to be spiritually uplifted, educated and humanized. Critic Calvin Tompkins informs us that "The country's first three major art museums—in Boston, Washington, D.C., and in New York—were all incorporated in 1870. Before the century was out these museums would have served as models for at least twenty-five art museums in other cities, virtually all of which would place primary emphasis on education, moral uplift, and social betterment. . . . In each instance the underlying principle was clear: the museum must be an instrument of popular education. Its function was basically social and moral—aesthetics was secondary."

And on first glance it might seem that museums have succeeded as centers of democratic education; that they are fully integrated within the society and quietly proceeding with the task of uplifting low-altitude souls. However, particularly within the last year, the American museum (which spends more in operations, collecting art works, and building construction than the GNP of many Third World countries) has come under attack from the people who used to pass through the cherry orchard, silently, with hat in hand.

BY 1970 THE MASS PUBLIC has come to the museum in unheralded numbers. It has been welcomed reluctantly, not out of any deep sense of commitment, but because two-thirds of all museums are privately owned and their directors know that public monies are needed to survive, and that these monies will not be secured unless there is at least the appearance of serving the public. But with the public comes its opinion, and museums are now besieged by demands that they speak for the people, not for the handful of wealthy collector-entrepreneurs who use their wealth to buy and sell art—and eventually sell their collections to a museum, thus gaining immortality and a monumental tax break in one blow.

Part of the museums' difficulties is that the "working millions" have, at least in major American cities, a darker complexion than those citizens with whom most collectors mingle. The task of uplifting these spirits who have consistently been prevented from living the good life and are not happy about it is something museums' founding fathers didn't reckon on. It may be the burden of the aspiring white middle class to live up to the Protestant ethic, but non-whites have historically been denied such a placebo. Moreover, American museums were largely founded around the time of the Civil War and were based on assumptions which, in the light of the 20th century, can be identified as racist. Unfortunately for museum directors, the victims of racism have a different definition of "practical instruction" than do the indifferent observers. They don't believe in non-directive education; they think you have to educate people not to be racist.

As well as having to deal with blacks, Puerto Ricans and other non-whites, the museums have had their problems with the dissident young, particularly with the younger artists who believe that there is a direct relationship between education, art and survival. They see urban decay, the longest and most vicious war in American history, the oppression of women, the environmental crisis; they want

by Barry Schwartz

Photographs by Earl Dotter/BBM

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to define culture as an activity that helps to free people from this bitter legacy. How does all this relate to museums? To collections of paintings, art history, and the restoration of old art objects? It doesn't; and that is, in part, what the conflict now swirling around the conservatories of culture is about.

[ACT I: AN ORCHARD GROWS IN OAKLAND]

THE NEW OAKLAND CITY Museum is a remarkably beautiful structure located on the south shore of Lake Merritt. The three-tiered complex of exhibition galleries with surrounding gardens, pools, courts and lawns is constructed so that at every level each roof becomes a garden and terrace for the one above. But its appearance is deceptive. The new Oakland Museum could have been as contemporary as it wanted to be; it wasn't stuck with any 19th century relationship to its constituency. The story of what occurred in Oakland is a scenario for what can be expected to happen to new museums springing up across the country. For instead of taking a fresh, skeptical look at the old cultural imperatives, it planted a cherry orchard. In the controversy that followed, the classic aspects of museum theater were all present—class interest by the self-serving group Dylan Thomas called "culture vultures," response by the underprivileged, and an indecisive conclusion.

From its inception the museum was controlled by a lily-white commission whose five members did not even reside in Oakland's seething urban cauldron. The museum began as a place for tea parties, cultural status and black-tie previews for the viewing of high art. There were very few blacks employed by the museum for construction and subsequent maintenance of the elaborate buildings; no black professionals were hired or involved in a decision-making capacity; and the only blacks in evidence were the few secretaries ornamenting some of the more visible offices. There were no minority curators and no minority advisors to reflect on the exhibition program.

In 1961 the citizens of Oakland made the construction of a new building possible by supporting a $6.6 million bond issue, subsequently supplying about $1 million more for furnishings and completion of the museum interior. With the money raised for a new and exciting structure, and the appointment of J. S. Holliday as the new director, it looked like Oakland would have a museum that the city, the residents and the Museum Commission could all take pride in.

Not long after he assumed leadership of the museum, however, the first signs of serious friction between Holliday and the Museum Commission (the "volunteer arm of the museum" which acts as a cadre of fund-raisers) became apparent. Many Commission members became disillusioned with Holliday, and Holliday became irritated by the attempt of private interests to run the museum. Mrs. Barbara Anderson, secretary to the Commission and its first black employee, thought that much of the conflict could be traced to the fact that Holliday expressed himself candidly on many issues. "He didn't have," she says, "the ability to be hypocritical."

ONE OF HOLLIDAY'S FIRST "mistakes" was the hiring of Julia Hare, wife of Nathan Hare, the militant black professor who led the Third World student strike at San Francisco State College. Mrs. Hare immediately began to try to influence the museum's exhibition program and its general workings. But the issue that brought the simmering controversy to a boil was Holliday's insistence that the museum in some way involve the Oakland community. He created a vehicle for black representation by installing a Community Advisory Council consisting of community residents serving in a voluntary capacity and reflecting a full spectrum of community opinion—from black Junior Leaguers to the more aggressive activists who are fully conscious that the city is 45 percent black. Since the Advisory Council was given only the power of suggestion, was not outwardly hostile to the museum, and was a diverse group (all of them serving without pay), it should be understood that Holliday's innovation was hardly radical. Yet the Oakland Museum Commission took great exception. Three weeks before the Oakland Museum was to be declared a city institution, passing from the Oakland Museum Commission to the hands of the city manager, the Commission fired J. S. Holliday.

Almost immediately Julia Hare and other black staff members resigned. Special documentary programs planned for various media were cancelled. A Newsweek article was shelved, grants were jeopardized or lost, and an outcry was registered that was heard as far away as the East Coast.

Enter a community group called the Black Caucus, which had previously waged a battle for a black superintendent of schools. The Caucus demanded Holliday's reinstatement and called for a black boycott of the museum, and held an alternate opening. Now the stage was set and the drama could unfold. The leading characters were five white, 50-ish, upper-middle-class members of the Commission whose job it was to raise funds but who had instead begun to determine the course of the museum; an exhibition program that reflected and enhanced the cultural status for its kind of people—a small number of black employees; the creation of a Community Advisory Council and the firing of the director; and the entrance of the activists of the black community.

As scheduled, the museum passed from the Commission's hands to the office of the city manager. The city manager began negotiations with the Black Caucus. All parties compromised, and a new director, who had previously served as the Commissioner of Parks, was hired. A new position, based on the position once occupied by Julia Hare, was created at the museum. This new Curator of Special Exhibitions would be a black professional who would be able to hire a black assistant to serve as a specialist in ethnic and cultural history. The museum's pronouncements became more pro-community than before.

JULIA HARE BELIEVES that the events at the Oakland Museum demonstrate the potency of white racism and occasional black stupidity. "The fight to break down institutional racism," she argues, "is not so we can replace one group of oppressors with another that does the same thing. Without changing the structure of the



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institution itself," she asks, "what have you done? The fight there was not, say, to get a black person to direct the museum or a black person to be the art curator, the science curator or the coordinator of education, but was to change the structure."

Mrs. Hare argues that there were no blacks really involved in decision-making, and as a result the exhibition program was slanted in certain directions. The first of the three floors, for example, is concerned with natural science and has a series of well-constructed insights into eco-systems. But nowhere is there any sense of what it is that has jeopardized these eco-systems and the larger ecology of which they are part. The second floor is concerned with California history and has brought together a stunning set of artifacts and memorabilia about the settlement of the northern part of the state. But one looks in vain for something that shows how the Gold Rush also involved genocide against the Indians, reducing their numbers in California by *80 percent* in 30 years; or how Hispanic peoples were here first and were dispossessed; or about the virtual slavery of Orientals who built the railroads; or about the black people who were also part of California history. The second floor represents the forces of white America only. As Julia Hare notes, the Commission justifies this exclusion in the history floor by saying that no blacks or other non-whites played a meaningful role in the development of California prior to the Gold Rush days.

Julia Hare put together a dictionary of ethnic slang for the museum tour guides (called docents). Most of the docents were white, and the dictionary was developed to aid their understanding of the terms they would hear as they conducted black neighborhood children through the museum. Why was this necessary? Julia Hare explains: "We had a black art show in a black town and a child told a docent that a painting was 'outasight.' The docent said, 'Oh no, it's in focus.' I prepared the dictionary, not so that they would speak slang, but so they would recognize terms and know what they meant. So that when a child pays a painting a compliment they would know that this is not an offensive thing to say." The 20-page document was offensive—to the Commission.

When the Commission wanted to institute a 75-cent admission charge, feeling that it might discourage "undesirables" who might want to destroy museum property, Julia Hare fought against it. "I reminded them that charging the fee might encourage this because if they get in there and don't get 75 cents worth then maybe they'll rip something off. They didn't understand subtleties like that."

In another instance, the new director had a friend who had been to Africa and had returned with several artifacts. Julia Hare borrowed them and added to them objects that were stored in the museum warehouse. She went to the Commission and asked why they couldn't send them out to some of the neighborhood places. The answer was that the objects couldn't be restored, even though there was a large staff of professionals who did nothing but restore objects. When Mrs. Hare finally did use these artifacts to organize an extremely successful show called the "Museum on Wheels" that went around to black Oakland, the Commission offered tepid congratulations and requested that the exhibition be sent to the white suburbs for fund-raising purposes.

How does Julia Hare feel now that the museum has been turned over to city control, and a black curator hired? She feels that nothing substantial has happened to change the nature of the museum. She explains her feelings this way: "The only reason I decided to work at the Oakland Museum was that it was a new institution; had it been an established institution I would have said no. I knew that if an institution has been in existence as long as most museums in this country you could forget it. You might as well start your own thing. But I said this is a new thing. A museum isn't built in a city in a year, not even in a century. Oakland is 50 percent black and the museum was paid for by the people of Oakland. So surely, I thought, they would be willing to cooperate. But you can see what happened."

THE LAST PERSON TO disagree with Julia Hare about white racism at the Oakland Museum is Ben Hazard, the new black curator. Hazard agrees with all the criticisms leveled at the museum's racism. But he sees no reason why the community concern evidenced during Holliday's tenure should be any less strong now. Under his curatorship, Hazard promises to make the Oakland Museum fulfill its potential for becoming truly a community museum. He wants to take the art out of the museum and bring it to the community. He wants to democratize the museum and inspire full participation of everyone, from janitor to director. He wants to eliminate the class structure of the museum, support and expand the Museum on Wheels program started by Julia Hare, and recruit advice and assistance from the community.

Hazard feels that artifacts in many exhibitions are to be touched. "You will hold them, feel them and taste them." He sees culture as something people do, not watch. "Whites," he argues, "have a concept of painting on the wall and feet on the rug because of their passive educational experiences." Hazard sees the museum as a community resource. He is going to help everyone do what they wish—only better, because of museum involvement. He insists, "I don't do a damn thing. I will help you do your thing."

Hazard's bold objectives are as yet unmet, although his notions of activity, participation and innovation seem to be what are wanted. Most people in the black community want the museums to climb down from their historical pedestals and involve themselves in experiences as they are lived, using their resources to support local community cultural activity. But there are some—Julia Hare among them—who feel that the structure will not allow these innovations to take place, even if it is willing to hire Ben Hazard to appease community dissent.

The story of the Oakland Museum reveals the interplay of diverse forces and the differing nature of several black points of view. The Black Caucus believes that by threatening a boycott and holding an alternate opening they gained a say in museum matters; that they will remain informed; and that the museum will in time increasingly come to reflect their interests. Ben Hazard, the new curator, hired through Caucus pressure, believes he will



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be able to redirect the thrust of the museum, work around previously existing obstacles, cooperate with the new director and break down all barriers between Oakland's black community and the museum. Other black spokesmen believe the essential power relationships at the museum are beyond reform and that once again another token black man has been used as window dressing. They also see the recurring story of whites who control, sitting back and watching as one black force plays off against another.

The story in Oakland isn't over yet, but it is doubtful that anybody will be able to remodel this cherry orchard into a people's park.

[ACT II: THE MET—FURTHER FROM THE MADDING CROWD]

WHEN J. S. HOLLIDAY WAS fired in the early stages of Oakland's cultural drama, the San Francisco Chronicle printed a letter that shows the ironies of the museum world. It read, in part: "The root cause of the dismissal appears to have been Holliday's effort to create—responsibly and intelligently—a community advisory committee that would properly reflect the varied interests, economic levels and ethnic patterns of the city of Oakland. The five-member Commission chose to ignore the obvious long-range benefits to the museum of such an advisory body and in censuring Jim Holliday by his abrupt dismissal has in effect censured the community to be served by the museum." The author of the letter was Thomas Pearsall Field Hoving, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

While the Oakland Museum is a newcomer, the Metropolitan Museum is a grande dame, having celebrated its centennial in 1970 with a massive array of exhibitions and special events. For over one hundred years it has been the country's most fruitful cherry orchard and has established itself as the largest encyclopedic museum in the western hemisphere. It has more than one thousand employees—guards, restorers, sales personnel, curators and supportive staff. Covering artifacts of 50 centuries in 19 departments, the Met controls more than 365,000 art objects and has an endowment of over $100 million (which earns some $4 million a year in interest—roughly half of its operating costs).

Thomas Hoving, who came to power in 1967, is fond of referring to the museum as a "positive, relevant, and regenerative force in modern society." His program is characterized by politics, expansion and publicity that has had no equal in the history of that museum. Hoving has talked a lot of changes; but he has stopped short of real action. None of the Met's 34 trustees are black or Puerto Rican; and the minority community of New York has little stake in the Met. Hoving, however, has proved himself an adept gardener cleverly pruning the cherry orchard to neutralize those forces that have occasionally necessitated the posting of a security guard at the entrance to the executive offices.

OPPOSITION TO THE MET comes from diverse elements of the community. Many feel that the Met has not responded to non-white residents; some are deeply disturbed by its expansionism and what they see as cultural colonialism; others are equally disturbed by the methods Hoving employs in dealing with his critics and his Ed Sullivan approach to art exhibition. Almost all critics agree that Hoving's contributions thus far have been to involve the museum in politics far beyond his predecessors and to introduce an unprecedented degree of arbitrariness into museum policy-making.

The environment is degenerating in New York at an alarming rate, and many of the Met's critics feel that if the museum can't do anything about urban decay it can at least reflect the crisis. But it hasn't. What it has done is outfit its guards with uniforms resembling New York State Police so, in the words of a Met apologist, "with a more military appearance the guards will command more respect. . . ." The Met is also concerned with the dust and grime working people bring into a museum; it has a force of 100 sweepers and cleaners.

At this time the Met, in the name of completing its encyclopedic task, is about to expand its turf at a cost of more than $50 million. This action will not only deeply and permanently influence the cultural life of New York City, but, because museums tend to act less on imagination and more on precedent, the expansion will have an impact on the entire nation. The expansion seems based on questionable reasoning. As artist Robert Rauschenberg asked, "Is the worst thing about New York City the fact that the Metropolitan is too small?"

The Met master plan calls for new structures to house the Rockefeller collection of Primitive Art, the Temple of Dendur, a European garden court, a gallery of European Painting and Decorative Arts, an American wing and garden court. These structures will house objects already owned but which because of existing space limitations are only partially exhibited, as well as the gifts of the Lehman Foundation, Nelson Rockefeller, and the Egyptian government. Hoving explains the need for more expansion by the fact that "not one foot of gallery space has been added since 1926." Possibly in 2024 another director will be insisting that the proposed condemnation of Central Park land is necessitated by the fact that not one foot of gallery space has been added since 1975.

Director Hoving assures us that this cannot happen; that the current expansion plans are the final plans of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; that it is unequivocally through with all further collecting "except for newsworthy items." "We will collect nothing unless we give something out," says the director, further defining his intentions. "We have 38 Monets. We could give away 25." It must be remembered that two years ago the Met paid $1,400,000 for yet another Monet. Disconcerting as well is Mr. Hoving's remark, made two years before the present expansion controversy, that "any work of architectural sculpture I can get my hands on I'll buy."

The much-discussed New York Painting and Sculpture exhibition was the first major effort of the newly formed Department of Contemporary Arts, which is "charged with collecting, preserving and exhibiting the paintings, sculpture, drawings, prints, furniture, period rooms and decorative arts of the 20th century"—a task that would suggest that still more room will be required since few things in the 20th century are small. But if the facts conflict with Mr.



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Hoving's no-purchase statement, they are consistent with the other policy stated by C. Douglas Dillon, former Secretary of the Treasury and the Met's president, in the May 1970 Museum Bulletin: ". . . we are grateful for gifts, and bequests of contemporary art, and we will continue to purchase it on a modest scale. . . . If we are to take advantage of the steadily dwindling opportunities to upgrade and enrich our collections, our purchase funds must also be increased."

Hoving's Met has a genuine distaste for answering questions. They have been particularly evasive on the matter of the Lehman collection. Although the actual arrangements with the Lehman Foundation have never been made public, it is well known that the museum may receive the collection only if they (a) keep the entire collection perpetually intact in the new wing, which will be operated as a department separate from the rest of the museum; (b) employ as the first curator of the collection the person appointed by the Lehman Foundation; (c) for 35 years after completion of the new wing accept control by the Lehman Foundation over successor curators, loans from the collection to others, publications, research projects and other artistic or scholarly activities, and rules and regulations for the organization and operation of the wing and collection. The Lehman wing will thus actually be the Lehman Museum located at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

THE LIST OF CONTRADICTIONS between museum rhetoric and reality could be extended indefinitely. But the Met need not pay attention to its own slips of tongue; as opponents have found, the Met can summon political muscle in behalf of its cause. Thus Director Hoving will be able to erect a monument to the 18th century in the latter part of the 20th. Although Super Museums were founded ages ago, when the social gestalt was vastly different from our own, the expansion will be carried out in the name of serving the public and the community. Although the expansion of the Met, which has been called by Lewis Mumford "another nail in New York's coffin," is counter to the major currents of contemporary history, the Met tells the public that this action is necessary so that the public may be better served. C. Douglas Dillon serves as the spokesman for the nobility of the Met's intentions: "We intend . . . to build the kind of cultural institution whose program and exhibitions are readily accessible, to be enjoyed by the broadest possible public."

The museum also justifies its rush to expand chauvinistically. As McCandish Philips reported a Hoving address in the New York Times: "First to the speaker's rostrum came Thomas P. F. Hoving and he soon raised the prospect—a fearful one in the eyes of the museum's friends—that the $100,000,000 Robert Lehman collection would go to another city should the Metropolitan fail to build a diamond-shaped wing for it. . . ." Why shouldn't the collection go to another city? Why should residents of other cities be told that the Met belongs to them, while New Yorkers take the attitude that if the Lehman collection were to go to another city it would no longer belong to us? If the museum is national in its constituency, as it claims to be, why is it so local in its commitments? If, as the New York Times reports, the new additions to the Met "would be the equivalent of three moderate-size museums for three moderate-size cities," would it not be appropriate to place each addition in a city that presently lacks cultural resources?

Although Mr. Hoving would have the Oakland Museum reflect "the varied interests, economic levels and ethnic patterns of the city of Oakland," he seems quite willing to exclude the Met from community participation or representation. He has ignored the conservationists and citizens who have expressed concern about the use of park land to expand his cultural empire. He failed to consult, and later ignored, the three planning boards of the neighborhoods enclosing the museum who are opposed to expansion. He has applied for more money each year from foundations, the city and the Arts Council, knowing full well that he and the trustees are far more influential and less needy than the artists, blacks, Puerto Ricans and others who suffer from a chronic shortage of cultural funds for community cultural activity and whose funding requests now compete with the Met's.

But there has been a call for decentralization of both cultural resources and cultural control, and it was sufficiently audible to inspire a Seminar on the Planning and Operation of Neighborhood Museums which was held at central Brooklyn's very successful Lincoln-Bedford Museum (MUSE) in November 1969. One of the program directors at the New York State Council on the Arts, Allon Schoener, articulated the issues in his opening remarks: ". . . there is a basic shift in emphasis in the kind of patronage cultural institutions are going to experience in the years to come. The patronage and support of the cultural institutions is going to come from certain segments of the community that haven't been represented before now. . . . The kinds of questions that are going to be asked of museums are the kinds of questions that are asked of us, the New York State Arts Council, by budget examiners in Albany. . . . Who is being served by the money spent? How many people are going to expect something as a result of this money? Where is this money going to be spent? These questions really have not been placed before museum people in the past, because their financial support has come from a restricted audience that was able to maintain it."

Schoener's comments came as no surprise to his audience of museum directors. Most had already seen the Belmot Report, a study commissioned by the American Association of Museums, which stated flatly that unless massive amounts of public funds were given to museums it was unlikely they would be able to survive. The challenge of the next decade was not, however, to acquire public funds —museum oligarch-trustees had the power to accomplish that. Their task would be to maintain their private control over what would become in all other respects public institutions.

SCHOENER'S ADMONITION was barely concluded when a confrontation developed between independent black participants, uninvited guests from the Art Workers' Coalition, and the panelists and museum



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directors. The seminar-long confrontation set the tone and presented the issues that would involve the museum world in controversy up to the present day. The major thrust of the attack was not, "We want museums to be more relevant," but was, in fact, "We want museums." The future was written at that conference, especially when black poetess June Jordan hushed her audience with: ". . . take me into the museum and show me myself, show me my people, show me Soul America. If you cannot show me myself, if you cannot teach my children what they need to know —and they need to know the truth, and they need to know that nothing is more important than human life—if you cannot show and teach these things, then why shouldn't I attack the temples of America and blow them up? The people who hold the power, and the people who count the pennies, and the people who hold the keys, better start thinking it all over again."

The museum journals reported how educational the conference was, at the same time plans were being formulated for the expansion of the Metropolitan. When August Heckscher, Administrator of Parks, Recreation and Cultural Affairs, gave his approval to the Met's expansion, he requested that the Met strengthen its community service efforts to diminish the static that was ensuing. The Met responded by creating a Trustees' Committee on Decentralization and Community Needs. Later, when the Met was criticized because there were no blacks or Puerto Ricans on this committee—or indeed any outsiders—Hoving's response was, "You wouldn't want to work with those people [the board members]. They're the kind of people you don't trust."

On May 12, 1970, the Committee issued an Interim Report which acknowledged, "Today in New York there is a growing demand for cultural centers and activities that are clearly the creation of local communities, easily accessible in individual neighborhoods and under local control." But the Committee said nothing about adding even token blacks or Puerto Ricans to the Board of Trustees; nothing was said about a Community Advisory Council like the one proposed at Oakland; nothing was said about *changing* the direction and emphasis of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Instead, the report suggested that the Met could best assist communities by making available various technical services for non-existent community museums—while expanding with enormous sums of money, thus helping to insure that neighborhood museums remain non-existent. This somewhat less than progressive program of community service is not even paid for by the Met. Instead, the Met's Committee for Decentralization applies to the New York State Council on the Arts for $250,000 to implement this program. In doing so the Met proposal is directly competitive with applications from community organizations.

The dynamics and interactions leading to the Met's support of the Community Artists Cultural Survey Committee is relevant to this discussion. It came out of a group called the Art Workers' Coalition, a loosely structured assemblage of primarily middle-class, white, usually non-Establishment, artists. They needed a genuine spokesman from the black community; failing to find one they chose a very vocal, very politically motivated black light-artist named Tom Lloyd.

Very soon, what Lloyd wanted and what blacks wanted became synonymous within the Art Coalition meetings. Disagreement with Lloyd became just another manifestation of white racism. Lloyd played his role to the hilt, badgering, coercing and epithet-dropping, until he got the 50 bodies he needed for the next demonstration, and without which he would be alone. The jive that would have failed so utterly on the streets of any New York ghetto worked wonders at a conclave of liberal white artists.

IN LATE 1969, COALITION members formed a committee to create a program on decentralization. By studying the cultural needs of nine New York City communities, they hoped to establish mechanisms for the autonomy of what would eventually come to be community cultural centers. After the concept for the Community Artists Cultural Survey was worked out and the proposal written, it was agreed that Tom Lloyd would field it to funding agencies. He showed the proposal to Hoving. Lloyd and Hoving journeyed one week later to the Rockefeller Foundation, and after the meeting it was announced that $19,000 had been raised for the project. (That Hoving was able to convince the Rockefeller Foundation of the importance of Lloyd's proposal was hardly surprising. At least four of the Met's trustees—J. Richardson Dilworth, Arthur Houghton, Roswell Gilpatric and John Blum—are associated with the Rockefeller brothers.) The cost of the survey was later upped to $39,000. The additional money was secured from the New York State Arts Council; Hoving is also a member of that body.

Tom Hoving, who is not a stupid man, had good reasons for actively supporting this project. The expansion of the Met was by this time assured, save for the possibility of one extremely embarrassing development—strong opposition from the black community. That issue would be too politically loaded to ignore. Tom Lloyd would get the funds for the Community Survey; this gave him both the money for the project and an elevated status within the Community Artists Cultural Survey Committee itself. In a very unusual move, the Met, which received the money from the Rockefeller Foundation and was supposed to transmit it to the committee conducting the survey, placed the money in a private account in Lloyd's name.

Using hindsight, it would seem that Lloyd was supposed to discover that the Met can't deliver what the communities really want; that the communities don't want the Met to decentralize because they have no interest in its resources. This impression was somewhat verified when Lloyd released preliminary results from the survey, even though data on eight of the nine communities was not available to him. The Met got even more mileage out of the arrangement when Lloyd attempted, usually with success, to break up meetings of the Coalition artists who were plotting against expansion. He was for expansion, therefore blacks were for expansion, therefore whites who were opposed to it were clearly racist. It worked. He even got one group, the New York Art Strike, to vote against going to a meeting some of them had scheduled with the Met's Board of Trustees to discuss, war, racism, sexism and repression. It was, overall, a very advantageous arrangement. It satisfied the Met's major objective—to



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defuse the community and bring expansion to reality.

The arrangement finally broke down in several ways. Lloyd's relationship to his fellow committee members deteriorated badly, and his useful image as the angry black dissipated as his harmonious relationship with Hoving began to receive press notice.

In the August 10 issue of New York Magazine, Barbara Rose drew attention to what could no longer be ignored: "There is, in fact, talk that both the Metropolitan and the Modern have made private deals with black light-artist Tom Lloyd. . . ." She continued, "God knows what acts of extremism crazed artists might perpetrate if ignored: the stink bombs in the Museum of Modern Art elevator during the Dada and Surrealism exhibition, for example, or the incessant picket lines at the Met. Better to avoid such disruptions. Use the old tried-and-true strategies. Invite them to cocktail parties; fight fire with firewater. Have Tom Hoving talk to Tom Lloyd man to man. Better a black artist in a black tie than in a black mood." A follow-up article quoted Lloyd defending his support of the Met's expansion with the weak-shanked statement, "I believe Tom Hoving will keep his promises." Finally, there was that Newsweek article which spoke of "Tom Lloyd, a black artist turned cultural bureaucrat in behalf of decentralization . . . Backed by Tom Hoving. . . ."

The arrangement between Hoving and Lloyd was damaged severely by Lloyd's difficulty with his fellow surveyors. First they registered strong complaints about his self-appointed leadership, about the way he was organizing the survey itself, about the lack of information concerning fiscal matters, about the extra-survey politics he was so frequently engaged in, and about their feeling that you can't win a community-controlled cultural center while working on a committee run in a dictatorial fashion. At an emotionally charged meeting, Lloyd agreed that when the survey terminated he would present full financial reports, and that he would no longer represent the committee without prior discussion with its members.

But a final blow came not long after, when the committee's members received a communique from Lloyd to the effect that they would receive their final salary only when their material was turned over to him. Moreover, he listed various requirements for the final documentation of the survey—an absurd compilation of census information. Although the funded proposal stipulated that the information would be evaluated by the committee and the sponsors of the survey, Lloyd was going to hand the material over to the sponsors for whatever use they would put it to. But the committee met at Lloyd's apartment/office instead of coming for individual audiences as he had requested; they demanded to see his reports and financial records. Lloyd refused; arguments ensued, with Lloyd calling the police.

THE ANGRY COMMUNITY ARTISTS Cultural Survey Committee next went to Hoving's office. The six-hour meeting in the plush conference room the afternoon following the previous night's arrest was an appropriate conclusion to this discussion of the Metropolitan Museum and the community. Here was Hoving, confronted by an angry group of community artists—all black and Puerto Rican but for two whites. It was the very nightmare Hoving had worked months to avoid, and members of the committee knew this. They demanded that Hoving act, that if he did not they would stay until they were arrested. Several were already using his phone to call the press in to bear witness to the arrest. Hoving insisted that he was neutral and that he couldn't care less about the internal politics of the committee. At the beginning he was arrogant, confident and patient. It didn't last. He began to yield to demands that he call Tom Lloyd and request that Lloyd pay the committee members for the past three weeks' work. The committee announced that Lloyd was fired, and Hoving mumbled that the Met was totally divorced from political activity. Back and forth it went, and it was not pretty. At one point the noise actually shattered a windowpane.

The turning point came when Hoving realized Lloyd was of no further use to him. Lloyd arrived and was kept hidden while Hoving angled for a way to insure that the committee would relinquish its data on community needs. There was last-minute arguing over a paper Hoving testily insisted the committee sign—a promise of their willingness to cooperate with the sponsors of the survey. Outside the building, three paddy wagons and hordes of police had assembled. Agreement was reached. Hoving left the room and returned with a plea that Lloyd be allowed to remain on the committee. The committee said no, and Hoving, with other things on his mind, escorted the committee to the adjoining room where Tom Lloyd sat, drily signing each and every salary check.

At that meeting it was apparent that Hoving is a man without a position. No matter with what conviction he expresses an opinion, his position at any one moment is based simply on the equilibrium of forces. Change one force, escalate the pressure, and the revised opinion will issue forth in a voice as determined as the time before.

Hoving is as close as most people get to a totally political man; his job is cultural politics.

[ACT III: A NEW THING IN WASHINGTON, D.C.]

THE INDECISIVE RESOLUTION at Oakland, the fact that the Metropolitan expansion is by now a *fait accompli*, and the disturbing lack of progress of the committee working toward community cultural centers in New York City, are enough to give one pause. But it cannot be said that the cultural struggle is not worth waging. Of particular note are two institutions dedicated to serving the community in Washington, D.C. For the Anacostia Museum, directed by John Kinard, and The New Thing in Art and Architecture, under the leadership of Topper Carew, both reflect a fundamental awareness that cultural institutions can work for the people.

Topper Carew, The New Thing's director, explains the need for museums to address themselves to black Americans by the fact that in the 17th and 18th centuries this country was designed by and for European immigrants who brought with them a set of attitudes, ideas and values upon which they based their cultural institutions. In 1970, however, these institutions subject large numbers of non-Europeans to the judgments and standards of European cultural values. Carew is most emphatic in his condemnation of existing cultural institutions: "Any time that you have a group of people



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subjected to a set of standards, whether they be cultural, aesthetic, artistic or architectural, and that group of people does not share the same origin of those standards, you have racism."

According to Carew, The New Thing is trying to become a central point around which the 76 percent of Washington which is black can focus. "We don't believe in art for art's sake," explains Carew. "We believe that art is a means to make people more aware of their presence in the world, more aware of their historical origins and the vitality of their own culture." For Carew, museums imply fixed institutions with fixed objects around which people gravitate. "Any time you are talking about freezing anything in society you are talking about history." And so he believes that museums primarily "show what aristocracy was like 300 years ago and what it is today."

Like many critics, Topper Carew departs from the conventional notion of what culture is and how it serves people. The New Thing in Art and Architecture is one approach to creating something new—something that relates. Located in four small buildings, and working out of countless telephone booths, The New Thing is a cultural force on the move. The program itself has two major components. There is what Carew calls "the professional arm," which "creates the symbols and messages necessary for the black community to begin to give a shape to itself and understand the many contradictions that exist in this society." The professionals, all staff members of The New Thing, work to create the graphics, films and photography that have increasingly made The New Thing financially viable. The New Thing conducts jazz workshops and assumes responsibility for an extremely ambitious concert festival program (200 a year). All the graphics announcing their events are done by The New Thing resident artists. The New Thing Flick Company has already received serious attention.

These aspects of The New Thing program are designed to bring capital to this non-profit corporation—so that the organization does not have to go begging for funds to insure its continued existence. They are also designed to employ professional creative talent to create symbols and images which relate to the non-European. The other side of The New Thing, perhaps the most important aspect, is its function as a community cultural organization. All professionals working on the staff of The New Thing are required to teach. No one can work for The New Thing unless he or she resides in the neighborhood. Should an artist seek an additional studio, it must be located within the neighborhood in which the person works.

The community arm aims to "teach everything we know to other black people." The New Thing offers classes of instruction to some 300 residents each year. These areas include everything from High School Equivalency to photog-



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raphy, music and graphics. The quality of the work of young people in their music and photography programs is exceptional. Many of the "graduates" of The New Thing return, either to offer their services to help others or to arrange for The New Thing to become involved wherever they are.

While museums are not usually concerned with even the adjacent neighborhood in which they reside, The New Thing considers the quality of that relationship to be of prime importance. Great attention is paid to how members of The New Thing relate particularly to the elderly within the community. "That has been the ultimate test," says Carew; "gaining the trust of the older people." The New Thing runs an extremely diverse program in all the arts and conducts numerous cultural workshops. It is also an institution that will, if necessary, pay a family's rent or feed 200 street people and their families on Thanksgiving.

NOT 30 MINUTES AWAY from The New Thing is the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum, which also is a truly community museum. It not only proves that the concept of neighborhood museums can work; it proves that they can work wonders. Most wondrous of all is that the Anacostia is a branch of the Smithsonian, but is still incorruptible in its commitment to community involvement.

The Smithsonian itself grew up like many of its peer institutions. In 1835, Congress was informed that a wealthy English scientist, James Smithson, had left the United States government a bequest of half a million dollars to be used to organize "an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." Congress debated the question for three years before it decided to accept the funds. In 1846 it determined that a museum would be created, as well as a chemical laboratory, a reference collection of scientific materials, an art gallery and a library.

There is perhaps no better job to have in Washington than that of Secretary of the Smithsonian. For one thing, no one ever gets fired from that position. When the time comes, one is retired with full pay, and there are three ex-Secretaries today still receiving salary. The present Secretary is Dr. S. Dillon Ripley, who might not have been expected to depart significantly from the traditional policies of his predecessors, but who did. For Ripley is largely responsible for the creation of the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum and is solely responsible for protecting it against the Smithsonian itself. As Director of the Anacostia John Kinard put it, "A white man, I don't care where you find him, has been taught from his mother's knee that he is superior and that he controls things. But Ripley, man, a creature of that psychology, decided that he was at a loss here and was willing to invest in the development of this thing and trust some cats he had never seen before. It's unusual." It is one of the few cases

*(Events offered at The New Thing in Art and Architecture/Washington, D.C.)*



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in which a museum director has taken a leadership role as well as excelling in the traditional pursuits followed by museum directors for decades.

The Anacostia Neighborhood Museum got started on less money than has been spent, for example, on the floral arrangements at the Metropolitan Museum in one year. It is housed in what was once an abandoned theater located on a block with an active corner central to the Anacostia community—an area which is predominantly black, has over half of its residents under the age of 18, has no school free of disastrous overcrowding, and has an astronomical rate of unemployment.

It is unlikely that one would find many museums in this country that open their bulletins with: "Dear Friend, Welcome to the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum. You have just entered an institution that is your own. You and your guests are welcome seven days a week. The director and his staff are at your disposal and urge you to voice praise or criticism of what you see here." The cost of membership at the Anacostia Museum, entitling an individual to full benefits, starts at $1.00. The Anacostia Museum has no board of trustees. Secretary Ripley makes sure that what the Smithsonian gives is given only at the request of the Anacostia Museum. The mechanics of the institution and its policy-making truly involve community participation. The Anacostia has a Neighborhood Advisory Committee, a Youth Committee and a Program Committee, and listens to the opinions of all who pass through its doors.

WHEN YOU ENTER the Anacostia Museum you have become part of a world different from that of most cultural institutions. One does not hear words like "commitment" or "relevance," but one partakes of experiences these words supposedly embody. At the Anacostia the exhibits are inspired by the needs of the environment and planned and executed with neighborhood residents and staff. A child is as likely as anyone else to work on an exhibit. The Anacostia lacks the pretension and plasticity that typify most museum operations. There is no pretense of "high culture," no affectation, no sense of monopoly on cultural wisdom.

The Anacostia Neighborhood Museum came to be known nationally because of an exhibition called "The Rat: Man's Invited Affliction." It came about because Director Kinard was informed by several staff members that children were taking gerbils from their cages and placing them in the snakes' cage. Slowly the gerbil population was decimated. Finally, one day Kinard confronted several of the children with the disappearance of the rodents. They informed him that they really liked the museum and finally it dawned on him that they felt they were doing it a service by disposing of "rats." Kinard learned that many of the children had been bitten by rats at home and some even had been assigned responsibility for staying up at night to keep rats away from younger children. A little research revealed that the Anacostia community was 67 percent rat-infested and that the rodent was a part of the daily life of the children in the community. An exhibit was developed to reflect and comment on these facts. It was a neighborhood venture. As Director Kinard put it, "You can't talk about the rat as an entity unto itself. You have to deal with rat-related prob-

Art by students of Anacostia Museum/Washington, D.C.

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lems, like slum housing, unemployment, welfare, under-employment, drugs. . . ."

The rat exhibition has since journeyed to a number of museums throughout the country. It has been educational. But there have been ironies as well. The simulated tenement which featured an exposed cross-section showing the life cycle of the rat has, in at least one case, been placed adjacent to a painting exhibition, thus indicating that those in charge see it only as another static artifact. In another case, the Anacostia's also successful Frederick Douglass exhibition was requested by the Oakland Museum. But when it was shown, the panels on slavery were removed and the sequential order of the rest was hopelessly jumbled without anyone seeming to realize what had happened. Apparently other museums are not only unable to create these kinds of exhibitions; they are also unable to display them.

THE PEOPLE OF ANACOSTIA entered an experimental process. They began with exhibitions on black cultural identity and black art and have now decided urban problems are their present priority. They recently have been encouraged by a $100,000 grant to develop the first center on urban studies ever attached to a museum. They are planning a drug exhibition with members of the community, including many drug users, which will emphasize the cultural aspects of the junkie's life. Recently they exhibited the works of art of inmates of the Lorton Reformatory in their presentation "Beyond Time." They are also, of course, continually providing music, theater, dance and other art forms in their programs. A mobile unit is used for all kinds of neighborhood exhibitions and traveling art shows.

There are no security guards at the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum. There are no bureaucrats and no admission fees. Most of the exhibits are "ruined" by fingerprints. The Anacostia does not create exhibits based on what Director Kinard calls the "osmosis" form of art education. Kinard believes the typical museum "is the white man's thing. They refuse to get involved with people who think differently. They accept the material culture but reject people as cultural beings." Kinard adds that if a Martian dropped down to earth and visited museums in this country he would not know of the existence of the black man.

There is much more that can be said of the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum, but all that can be said only approximates being there.

In the light of recent history, the Anacostia is a model for all communities in the United States. It is a model, not for its content, which will vary as institutions respond to the unique needs of communities, but for its form, for the fact that the community is truly involved, for the reason that the neighborhood corner and the museum are the same, and for the fact that it provides a service. The Anacostia Museum has developed a format for genuine communication between cultural resources and people in need of them. Although it, too, may change drastically in the future, it has developed the mechanism for continual and creative change.

There cannot be an Anacostia Museum in every community because every community is not Anacostia. But what can be learned from this experience is that the humanity the Anacostia displays and the contributions of the community it encourages can be replicated in communities across the country. As Kinard put it, "The museum now offers a new arena for participation."

## [EPILOGUE]

MUSEUMS ARE BEGINNING TO change for the first time in 200 years. This change is slow. But our imaginations should not be limited. If experiments like the Anacostia and The New Thing are not sabotaged, there will come a day when museums will no longer be structures, but services. The museum will be in the business of creating cultural experience to enhance the lives of the residents of communities. Since art holds no respect for walls or sacred places, and since the culture of any one time is a living, growing entity, museums will become dispersed and finally integrated into the environment, instead of standing apart.

Future exhibitions will not be in the east wing of some monolithic, ever-growing building, but instead in all places where people congregate. These places will call for the involvement of museums—either through exhibitions or the use of replica art, or through the promotion and programming of artistic experiences. Decentralization is only the first step toward the transparent museum. In the future dictionary, the noun "museum" will be listed as a verb.

At this moment in time, visions of the future seem farfetched. Museums are generally controlled by private interests which meet their own needs while proclaiming that what is good for them is good for all people. In such situations, institutional insanity becomes the norm and those that oppose the world of the museum are easily frustrated. The museum on the defensive escalates the confrontation by greater deception, bolder distortions and a more skillful use of the media and the mechanisms of government. While the museums gather allies from foundations, private donors, government funding agencies, city councils and park departments, they take their appeal to the public, arguing that only public support can save the museum. All that is happening in American society, with its wars, its racial conflicts, and its urban deterioration, is happening within the politics of its museums. And like these other crises, the cultural crisis is of apocalyptic proportions.

There is a need for a genuine cultural liberation, and without it we will have more traditional museums, less imaginative solutions to the crimes that threaten us, and lost opportunities for joy. It was with something like this perception that Stanislavski said of *The Cherry Orchard:* "It hides in itself and in all of its flowering whiteness the great poetry of the dying life of aristocracy. The Cherry Orchard grows for the sake of beauty, for the eyes of spoiled aesthetics. It is a pity to destroy it, but it is necessary to do so, for the economics of life demand it."

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# Inside a State of Siege: Legalized Murder in Guatemala

IN GOING TO GUATEMALA last October to do field work for my Ph.D. thesis, I knew it wouldn't be easy. Colonel Carlos Arana (known as the "butcher of Zacapa" for his role in directing the bloody anti-guerrilla campaign of 1966–68) had become President in July 1970. But even though I had experienced heavy situations before in Central America, I was not prepared for the nightmare that followed.

Upon arrival in Guatemala City, I went to see my friend, Adolfo Mijangos, a prominent lawyer and law professor at the University of San Carlos, as well as a leader in a moderate leftist political party. In March 1970 he had been elected to Congress, one of four opposition *diputados* (congressmen). Even after the state of siege was imposed on Friday, the 13th of November, 1970, and the political assassinations began, he continued to speak out openly, challenging the constitutionality of the state of siege. After all, he *was* a *diputado*. Universally respected, Mijangos even had friends in the Army. Moreover, he was paralyzed from the waist down and confined to a wheelchair. That was his best protection, he reassured me when I worried for his safety: who would be so cowardly as to attack an invalid?

On January 13, 1971, in the 7:00 P.M. twilight, while going in his wheelchair from office to car, Diputado Adolfo Mijangos was shot to death by "unknown assailants."

Mijangos was not the first to go. A state of siege in Guatemala has always been the setting for the extermination of bothersome opposition leaders. Other victims this time included university professors, professionals, ex-politicians—some of whom had not participated in politics since 1954—students, labor leaders, and hundreds of peasants. The World Confederation of Labor in Brussels charges that at least 600 have been killed in the first three months of the current state of siege. No killers have been identified, no arrests have been made for these assassinations.

THE DAY THE STATE OF SIEGE WAS imposed, I was interviewing the rector of the national University of San Carlos. During the interview an aide entered to advise him to cancel his Friday night speaking engagement. The government had just announced a nationwide curfew from 9:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. Remembering the curfews I had experienced in Washington during the 1968 uprisings following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, and in Berkeley during People's Park, I thought, "What a drag. But I'll find some excuse for being out after 9:00 if it lasts too long."

It wasn't until the next day that I began to understand what was happening. The entire country was under a state of siege. Not that that was unusual for Guatemala: since the "pacification" campaign began in earnest in 1966, state of siege has been as much the rule as the exception, whether or not there has been a corresponding guerrilla "threat." But this time the state of siege was more ominous. The curfew, for example: no one was allowed on the streets after 9:00 P.M., *not even firemen or doctors.* If a woman was about to give birth, if a child had an accident—whatever the reason, the government announced, you were taking your

by Susanne Bodenheimer

Wide World Photos

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life in your hands if you violated the curfew. Guatemalan security forces have a nasty habit of shooting first and asking questions later; in the months that followed, a number of people were killed for curfew violation and hundreds were imprisoned. Aside from those unfortunates, no one took any chances; except for police, the streets were deserted by 7:30 P.M.

The state of siege meant also the suspension of all political and constitutional rights. Political party offices closed down. (When I phoned one opposition party office in January, no one but the janitor had been around for weeks.) Hundreds of homes were arbitrarily invaded and searched (including a house-to-house search of the entire capital in January), and their occupants often arrested. No time was wasted on such legalities as search or arrest warrants. Habeas corpus went by the wayside. The jails began to fill up. Prominent professionals, university professors and students, as well as workers and peasants, were in prison for weeks or months. Often their families had no idea where they were, or even whether they were still alive. It became common for friends and relatives of the *desaparecidos* (those who had disappeared) to spend weeks going from one jail to another in desperate search for them. The lucky ones were still in jail. The corpses of the less fortunate frequently were found a few weeks after their disappearance in a ravine or dry river bed—often bearing hideous signs of torture.

Not that there was any public criticism (or discussion) of any of this: the media could only report what the government permitted. The Minister of Defense issued an ominous warning to the press against publishing accounts of "acts of violence or blood" or photos of cadavers which would "alarm" the public. Statements by the political opposition which would harm the "prestige" of the government were also prohibited.

CHRISTMAS SEASON UNDER these conditions seemed a contradiction in terms. I had been told that Christmas is a beautiful, joyous time in Guatemala. This year I was there. This year, as every year, the Guatemalan middle class swarmed over Sixth Avenue, the main shopping street. (In the last few days before Christmas it took half an hour to walk two blocks.) Consume, consume. Dozens of parties. Drink up. Try to forget. But the contradiction was too great. The plastic Santa Claus and Christmas lights on Sixth Avenue clashed too brutally with newspaper headlines announcing the latest political assassination (two days before Christmas, of a labor leader). The thousands of *cohetes* (firecrackers) set off on Christmas eve and Christmas day seemed to express not celebration but frustration and despair.

Arana's Christmas present to the Guatemalan people was to lift the curfew for Christmas eve and New Year's eve. At 4:00 A.M. on Christmas morning, after a party of sorts, I was ready to go home. I had a 20-minute discussion with a friend: was it safe for him to leave his house to drive me home? Why not? He was a professional, not a guerrilla. He had done nothing illegal. Yet he had received threats. But Christmas, we supposed, was a day of "truce." He suppressed the gnawing fear inside him and insisted on taking me home. I felt a heavy guilt for exposing him to this risk.

The fear was pervasive—and not only for the political opposition. Several high government functionaries felt they could not, in good conscience, continue to serve this regime; yet they knew that if they resigned, they would have to leave the country or risk being killed. "This is not the kind of regime one says no to."

No one was immune. Two congressmen had been killed —one from the right-wing government party, who had had disagreements with the strongmen in his own party. High officials from the previous regime—including Alberto Fuentes Mohr, prestigious ex-Minister of Finance and of Foreign Relations—were arrested and held for days. The former Dean of the Medical School and the Treasurer were among the University officials arbitrarily imprisoned for weeks. While the Mayor of Guatemala City was abroad at an international conference, his home was invaded and thoroughly searched and many of his books were confiscated.

The psychological effect of this terror was devastating. We never knew who would be next. And somehow, just when we most needed each other, the fear increased our distance and isolation from one another. When Alfonso Bauer Paíz (a prominent leftist law professor who had been shot and wounded by rightists in November) was in the hospital recuperating, word got around that two *judiciales* (secret police) were stationed outside his room, taking down the names and addresses of all his visitors—supposedly to "protect" him. Few of his friends dared visit him. Only through jokes could we bridge the gaps created by fear. I had difficulty even remembering the warmth and solidarity of the women's movement in the U.S.

But like any tragic situation, this one provided its occasional comic relief. While interviewing one high official in the government tourist promotion agency, I asked whether, given the curfew, the house searches, the killings, etc., it wasn't slightly absurd to spend millions of dollars promoting tourism in Guatemala. "Not at all," I was told. "In fact, we think tourists *like* seeing police armed with machine guns. It makes them feel secure." Nevertheless, as one recent article in the New York Times travel section reported, the greatest advantage of going to Guatemala this season is that you can get into any hotel without advance reservations —and you can have the entire hotel to yourself.

THROUGHOUT THE TERROR, the American press has been conspicuously silent. Except for two Washington Post articles in March, the few articles dealing with Guatemala at all have seriously distorted the situation. They have depicted it as a government response to guerrilla activity (e.g., the New York Times, December 27, 1970: "Guatemalan Government Failing to Halt Terror by Left and Right"). While hundreds of Guatemalans were being killed by official forces, the Wall Street Journal ran a long front-page story late last December about the personal inconveniences faced by the U.S. Commercial Attaché in Guatemala in order to avoid being kidnapped by leftist guerrillas!

In fact, however, leftist guerrillas were relatively inactive both before and during the height of this official terror. In a July 1970 communiqué issued shortly after Arana took office, the guerrillas *(Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes,* or *FAR)* offered to participate in a public political dialogue with all other political sectors. The offer was ignored. During the



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weeks just prior to the state of siege, acknowledged guerrilla actions were confined to the kidnapping of one industrialist and the half-hour occupation of the (leftist) Economics Faculty of the University. Certainly guerrilla activity was not sufficient to "provoke" the government into its latest crackdown.

No, this is no ordinary counterinsurgency campaign. In fact, the principal victims have not been the armed guerrillas but rather the University and the center-left political opposition. To understand why, we must look briefly at Guatemala's recent past.

In 1944 the fascist-sympathizing dictator, Ubico, was overthrown by a coalition of military dissidents, professionals and University students. Under the two "revolutionary" governments of Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Arbenz (1944–54), political parties formed and were allowed to function freely. Workers and peasants were organized and given legal protection. Progressive and nationalistic economic policies were initiated. And in 1952, the Arbenz government instituted a serious—though by today's standards, hardly radical—land reform. It called for the expropriation (with compensation) and redistribution of idle lands belonging to large landowners, among them the U.S. monopoly, United Fruit Co. This was too much for Washington. In June 1954, using the familiar cry of "communism," the U.S. engineered an invasion and the overthrow of Arbenz by rightist military and civilian forces under the leadership of Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas. (It was in the same month that another U.S. protegé, Ngo Dinh Diem, was installed in Saigon.)

The externally imposed overthrow of a popularly elected reformist regime, and its replacement by a series of rightist governments which reversed all significant reforms initiated during the revolution, generated new contradictions. The cornerstone of Guatemalan "development" policy since 1954 has been private foreign (U.S.) investment—thus the need to make Guatemala attractive (i.e., safe and secure) to U.S. corporate giants like Coca Cola, Phillip Morris, Goodyear and Texaco. The political expression of this "development" strategy has been chronic repression of all "unstabilizing" forces, such as militant labor unions and serious political opposition. In short, it became impossible to maintain a "democratic" façade. (Interestingly, the recent crackdown came just as the government was concluding the highly controversial negotiations with the International Nickel Company for a $250 million investment—by far the largest in Guatemala's history.) Meanwhile, no basic (e.g., tax and land) reforms have been made, and the underlying social and economic problems—urban and rural unemployment, grossly unequal income distribution, large numbers of landless peasants, negative trade balances, malnutrition, illiteracy, and so on ad infinitum—have become more acute in the past 17 years.

IN THE FACE OF WORSENING conditions and chronic repression, an armed insurgent movement arose during the 1960s. The government's response has been to raise the level of repression, culminating in the current terror—in many respects, the most brutal in modern Guatemalan history. This situation is the logical outcome of the events triggered by the 1954 intervention. It has become necessary to enforce the counter-revolution. Its goal must be to wipe out from the collective mind of the Guatemalan people the memory of the revolution; to stamp out the popular desires which produced that revolution; and to physically eliminate the moderate leftists who made and still symbolize that revolution. To accomplish this, the government must terrorize the Guatemalan people, thereby immobilizing any existing or potential opposition.

In alliance with the Guatemalan bourgeoisie and military, the U.S. has played a crucial role in this process of wiping out history. Having brought about the overthrow of Arbenz in 1954, the U.S. spent $80 million in aid to ensure the survival of the Castillo Armas regime. Some of that money was used to build up the machinery of repression. With the rise of the guerrilla movement during the 1960s, Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" provided increasing police and military assistance (part of it for "civic action" programs in the guerrilla zone, designed to win the hearts and minds of the Guatemalan people). U.S. advisers (including Green Berets involved in active combat), bomber planes, napalm and training were decisive in the 1966–68 Zacapa counterinsurgency campaign, which left a death toll in the thousands (estimates range from 3000 to 8000), most of them peasants.

Last November, a few days before the state of siege was declared, President Nixon publicly assured the Ambassador of the Arana government in Washington that the U.S. was giving additional emergency assistance to the Guatemalan police, and pledged "unrestricted support" for Arana's pacification program. The support has been generous. For example, AID-donated paddy wagons are used to patrol the streets day and night, providing a psychological deterrent to political activity of any sort. American "advisers" are used to train Guatemalan soldiers, who bear U.S.-supplied machine guns, rifles, communications equipment, etc. (According to one study, the ratio of U.S. military advisers to local army forces is higher for Guatemala than for any other country in Latin America.) A new police academy is being constructed with $410,000 of AID funds. An additional $378,000 in AID public safety funds has gone for police vehicles and equipment. Eight B-26 bombers, 15 F-51D Mustang light-strike aircraft and other hardware initially given for "permissive counterinsurgency operations" in Zacapa now are available whenever needed. New torture methods, strikingly similar to those used by Green Berets in Vietnam, are being used by Guatemalan security forces. Certainly Guatemala appears an obvious candidate for our first Latin American Vietnam.

* * *

As my plane landed in Mexico City in February of this year, I felt my body untense for the first time in a long while. It had been like visiting a gigantic prison. While I was there, I lived much like everyone else. But the clear difference was that I was a visitor, surrounded by lifers.

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(Continued from Page 37)

ANTIBIOTICS, LOTS OF them, are mixed with all kinds of animal feed—drugs like chlortetracycline, penicillin, streptomycin, plus a little amprolium and arsenilic acid. By dosing the animals with potent drugs, meat producers can crowd them into filthy pens, get them fat quick, and send them to market before they succumb to profit-hurting disease.

The antibiotics usually end up in the food (they're even used as uncooked poultry dips, or on ice packed around fresh fish) and in our bodies. Chronic exposure to antibiotics immunizes the body against their useful therapeutic effects, so when bacterial infections strike, there aren't any drugs which can do the job. Antibiotics also disrupt the intestinal flora, fouling up the digestive system and body metabolism. Tetracyclines, as FAO additive experts warn, bind to teeth and calcium and inhibit skeletal growth in children. Or, as numerous medical journals point out, antibiotics will cause allergies. Some researchers speculate that the nagging allergies which so many kids suffer come from the same milk, meat and fish which their school health textbooks promise will make them strong.

In a fitting ironic twist, a perverse salute to the last bit of technology to touch our food, contamination is also caused by polyethylene bags, cans, paper bags and cardboard boxes—the sterile 20th century wrappings which smother our food in order to keep out dirt. Meats, crackers, soups, cereals, vegetables, fruits, crisp snacks: they all suck up several thousand additives used in the packaging, more bits of BHT and BHA, more sodium nitrite, methylcellulose and potassium hydroxide—all in the wrappings this time—lime, zinc, chloride, soap, animal glue, shellac, peroxides—every additive that is also put directly into the food, and more. Rest assured (by the FDA) that the package-to-food migration is very small. Also remember that you get the additives from every package, from every wrapper, from every food. The levels add up.

You can forego all packaged food and spend the rest of your life munching fruits and vegetables which haven't touched a paper or polyethylene bag. A warning, though: they've all been rinsed with soaps and detergents to clean off the field dirt (which you could rinse in your kitchen sink); and in a last compulsive act to seal them for market, 75 percent have been soaked with mixtures of carcinogenic coal-tar waxes, paraffin and petroleum naptha—the prime ingredient of napalm.

*Caveat emptor.* Let the buyer beware.

[ VI ]

"IF WE DIDN'T EAT anything we'd be 100 percent safe, wouldn't we?" laughs one FDA official, whose stamp brings new additives on the market or keeps them off.

In the food business, additives stand or fall on the risk/benefit doctrine—industry's philosophy that since science can't ever guarantee that anything is *absolutely* safe, it's not fair to criticize an additive's potential dangers without emphasizing its market virtues. The whole issue of food safety, argues Richard Hughes of Arthur D. Little Laboratories—whose clients include the nation's top chemical and food producers—comes to this: "How do you define what is safe? Safety is relative. Water is dangerous in large amounts. Sugar can be a poison. Any substance you use, there will be some data showing that it has problems."

Food corporations see the risk of food additives, says Trauberman of *Food Engineering,* the same way General Motors sees the safety of its cars: "Fifty thousand people will be killed this year in automobiles," he says soberly. "I can produce a risk/benefit ratio and assure you that the public is willing to accept it."

The consumer seems so far to be willing to take the chance, although he has never been told the odds against him. And the benefits? Hundreds of additives—if not most of them—do nothing to enhance food quality, and consequently do nothing for eaters. Nutritionist Mayer suggests we start eliminating the additives which industry puts in food purely for their "aesthetic" value. Start with artificial food coloring: orange peels may sometimes look greenish, tomato sauces won't always look vine-ripened red; eliminate color fixatives like sodium nitrite and nitrate, and hot dogs and salami will be slightly brown. Get rid of sequestrants like calcium disodium EDTA (which inhibits human blood coagulants), and canned kidney bean juice may turn cloudy instead of clear and each bean won't stay the same color. Consumers could adjust to this and also to less artificial flavoring.

Many preservatives could go; they do prolong food freshness—but who wants bread in their bin with 11 of its 15 nutrients leached out by mass-production processing? Eliminating preservatives from bread means simply that manufacturers would have to deliver more often to groceries. Bleached, soggy American preserved bread runs a 10–15 percent spoilage rate even now—which suggests bread manufacturers are causing their own problems by producing too much surplus.

For any kind of additives you talk about there are foods which contain but don't need them, or new-fangled foods which need them but which consumers didn't ask for in the first place. And each category of additives (like emulsifiers or flavors) contains countless chemicals which only duplicate the same effects and compound the human risks. No one needs potassium sorbate (which can dangerously increase the body's potassium intake) or sodium sulfite (which destroys thiamine). Or hydroxylated lecithin, which, the FAO food additive committee warns, science knows frightfully little about.

When you put the squeeze on the industries, even they admit that most synthetic additives aren't really necessary in terms of food production. "There aren't very many additives that could not be eliminated without the food industry falling apart," Trauberman says. "The food companies could still be in business. The consumer would have less variety of foods; she'll [the American housewife again!] eat the same amount of foods even if there are no additives. The consumer may just have to change her eating habits."

THERE ARE ONLY TWO REASONS food additives are so crucial to the industry: high profits and market control. Without synthetic additives, a handful of centralized food corporations could never saturate the markets of an entire nation (and much of the Western



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world) at minimal production costs. Once the food industry controls the market, it totally controls what you eat. "The consumer always exercises the final choice of what she buys," proclaims an industry executive. But he means a choice, not between nutritious (pollutant) foods and synthetic, plastic foods pumped with contaminants, but between Screaming Yellow Zonkers, Madison Avenue's most successful "mod" promotion job in years, and eight other varieties of artificially flavored and colored crackerjacks. Your local supermarket tells you where the choices and the profits are: lone shelves on the outer walls display meager varieties of (usually) wilted vegetables and fruits, dairy products, meat and poultry; not much profit there. Then look at the rest (95 percent) of the floor space: hundreds of different brands of the same synthetic foods, artificially flavored, colored and textured. That's where the additives are—and industry's greatest profits. Not just profits for the food producers, but for the chemical corporations as well. Add them together—and the food production business, thanks to synthetic additives, dominates the nation's economy.

Don't look to the government, personified by the FDA, to give you much relief. Fifty years of giving in to industry every time an additive is questioned—as Jim Turner documents in *The Chemical Feast*—shows that the agency's primary incentive is to keep good relations with the industry it is meant to regulate.

That explains why the FDA relies so heavily for advice on its "independent" consultant, the National Academy of Sciences, ostensibly an objective scientific organization whose food protection board formulates toxicological standards and passes judgment for the FDA on the safety of individual additives. The food committees read like a Who's Who of the food and chemical industry; in fact, the only people involved in the food market who are *not* represented on the NAS boards are the consumers. Just to make sure the FDA listens to the right advice, the food industry pumps millions of dollars into trade lobbies which guarantee that the predominant voice in Washington is the industry's. It's not hard to find cause and effect: If you wonder why MSG is exempted from labeling requirements only on salad dressing, French dressing and mayonnaise, you'll find the answer at the Mayonnaise and Salad Dressing Association.

When you understand what the food business is all about, you can't escape the conclusion that living is a matter of politics: merely eating to keep yourself alive involves political decisions every time you shop. And it is political wisdom—not paranoia—to assume that the food you buy from the food industrial complex may be poisoning you, while maximizing corporate profits. Still, it's difficult to fight General Foods. But eaters are trying. Societies—like the Ecological Food Society in New York—are springing up, buying and distributing organic products free of pollution and synthetic additives, on a national level. Sales of one of the nation's largest organic food distributors—Kahan & Lessin Co.—have doubled since 1968. On a local level, community cooperatives and food conspiracies buy wholesale or at special prices from retailers, then deliver groceries to member families. Detroit's People's Food Co-op, which just started, is already building a large clientele of lower- and middle-class families who decided to chuck the supermarket's corporate style of eating. You don't have to be a radical or a freak to want good food.

YOU CAN START BATTLING the corporation on your own. You can't avoid all additives and pollutants, but you can avoid paying for foods which do nothing good for your body—and could be slowly poisoning it.

- Don't eat foods with artificial colors ("I would certainly stay away from synthetic colors," Lederberg says).
- Don't eat bakery products, especially bread, made with bleached flour. Go to a good local bakery or make your own.
- Avoid dehydrated and other "convenience" foods like boxed mashed potatoes, dry packaged soups and imitation Beef Stroganoff. The closest you'll come to real food is some vegetable and beef powder. The rest is synthetic.
- Don't eat packaged snacks or breakfast cereals.
- Don't eat imitation foods—from imitation orange juice to non-dairy creamers to soy protein products. Soy foods are a tricky area. It's true, as General Foods and Worthington, the two biggest producers, point out, that soy products contain as much protein as real meat. But that's only part of the story. To taste like meat (or vegetables) the soy isolates must be smothered and pumped with every synthetic additive known. And furthermore, Dr. Mayer warns, "When we replace natural foods with synthetic protein substitutes, we lose many trace minerals and vitamins. We don't know everything about this area, so we're in a transition period that has serious dangers."
- Stay away from products which contain hydrogenated vegetable oil.

Eaters will have to make certain sacrifices: Eating real meats and poultry, and more fresh fruits and vegetables, means making dinner will take 30 minutes instead of 15.

But it's worth it. Look at the facts. The food industry insists that our food supply has never been better. "In some areas of the world, 40 percent of the children die before they are big enough to steal food from the table," moans a General Foods vice president histrionically. But in their hearts, Americans know something is wrong here. Our infant mortality rate is fifth highest in the world; heart attacks and cancer are soaring. "Americans spend six times as much on health as they did 30 years ago and with no statistics to show for it," Mayer points out. "The average American spends much more on health than people in any other country in the world, and we're way down on the scale in health." The life expectancy of the average American male is 68–69; the average woman's, 72. In Sweden they have fewer additives in their food: and their life expectancy is six years higher.

When Norman Mailer ran for mayor of New York, he rejected a proposal to save water by filling toilet bowls with chemicals because, he said, Americans are becoming as alienated from their bodies as from the earth. "We should at least smell our own shit," he said. But even the waste we excrete isn't real anymore. It's all laboratory made.

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*Daniel Zwerdling is a free-lance writer in Ann Arbor.*



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# A Reader's Guide to the Warfare State

IN AN EDITORIAL titled "Defense and Smart Money," the New York Times commented last February 14, "All the talk by the Nixon Administration about reordering national priorities from a wartime to a peacetime economy has not caused Wall Street to lose sight of the fact that—if the President has his way—the defense budget will actually be going up by $6 billion in budget authority for military and military assistance programs in the next fiscal year."

The editorial pointed out that in the two months spanning the end of 1970 to February 1971, shares of all aerospace companies climbed by 27.2 percent, compared with the 5.1 percent rise of all industrials listed in Standard and Poor's Index. General Dynamics stock has risen 52 percent since January, Litton is up 95 percent over its 1970 low, and McDonnell Douglas rose 111 percent from its 1970 low.

While investors understand that the Nixon Administration has shifted resources, not from military to human resources, but from military manpower to military hardware, liberals in Congress talk gallantly about conversion—the dramatic shift from war production to the production of civilian-oriented goods. Clearly Nixon's FY-72 budget does not present grounds for optimism on the part of conversion advocates. Not only is the request for obligational authority for military procurement up $6 billion, but the budget contains funding for weapons systems that will eventually cost taxpayers billions of dollars. The January 23, 1971, issue of the *National Journal* lists 36 major weapons systems that will require almost $60 billion in additional funds in the coming years. Another 100 weapons systems on which no accurate cost figures are available will probably add billions more.

A NEW STAGE IN the arms race has already begun with the installation of MIRVs in Poseidon submarines and on Minuteman missiles. Weapons systems in the development stage such as the B-1 bomber, ULMS (undersea long-range missile system) [see RAMPARTS, September 1969] and hardening of missile silos, will fuel the permanent war economy in the coming decade. The SALT talks, even if successful (which is unlikely), would not halt the madness. According to the New York Times of December 7, 1970, "High administration officials do not expect significant cutbacks in the Defense Department's $8 billion-a-year budget for strategic arms as a result of *any* arms limitation agreement that may be signed with the Soviet Union." (emphasis added)

In the area of conventional forces the Nixon Doctrine aims to reduce American manpower involved in the Third World, replacing that presence with military aid to native armies. Such a program will not come cheap. Calculations from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee put the figure for military aid this year between $4 billion and $7 billion, and there is little reason to think the figure will be lowered in the future. The Army has embarked on development of an electronic battlefield which Senator Proxmire estimates might cost $20 billion. The Air Force is developing "instant" air bases that are collapsible and can be quickly transported from the U.S. to overseas staging areas.

Moreover, since the U.S. continues to maintain its policy of containing China and supporting right-wing regimes in underdeveloped countries, it is likely that Nixon's low profile strategy will fail, necessitating the use of American forces in overseas interventions when U.S. client armies are unable to defeat an insurgency.

Together, Nixon's strategic and conventional force strategies mean a continuing high level of defense expenditures through the '70s. So long as this remains policy, conversion to a peace-oriented economy remains a pipe-dream.


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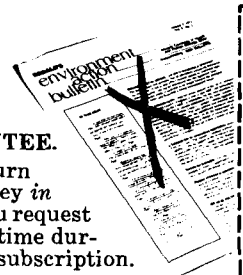


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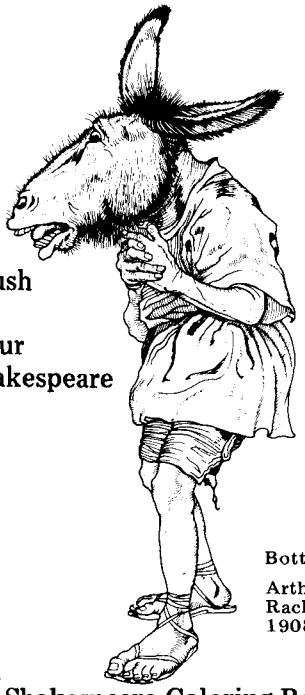


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TO UNDERSTAND under what circumstances conversion becomes a real possibility (conversion is really the process that takes place when disarmament and a dismantling of the American overseas military presence actually occur), one must consider the dual role that defense spending plays for the U.S.

First, defense funds go to finance the American overseas military presence. The sustaining force behind U.S. policy is not simply the mechanistic drive of capitalism to acquire scarce resources and maintain markets for goods produced in the U.S. The American economy could survive quite well without imperialism; valuable minerals could be acquired through trade—though perhaps at much less favorable terms. What then keeps American policy one of containing communism?

The answer seems to be the policymakers' fear of socialism. The men who make American foreign policy, as studies by Richard Barnet and Gabriel Kolko have demonstrated, are a small elite who represent the privileged business interests of the country. These men oppose the triumph of any socialist regime abroad, because they fear that an example will be set for other countries and for the U.S. Thus the NLF and the North Vietnamese are seen as threats to the international capitalist network: American policymakers fear that any change in the world balance of forces between socialism and capitalism threatens the whole structure on which American "security" is built. American statesmen in the twentieth century have always used the excuse of "a threat to national security" to attack radical groups in the U.S.

American foreign policy is a direct expression of the country's privileged class's desire to protect the status quo and their favored position at home. However, as has been shown by numerous congressional investigations, defense spending is greater than is needed to maintain even the present foreign policy. There is a tremendous amount of waste, graft and inefficiency. Why?

The answer lies in the second function of defense expenditures: prevention of depression at home without large expenditures for public works.

AS MOST ECONOMISTS now admit, the Depression of the '30s was ended not by FDR's New Deal but by the aggregate demand created by World War II. Employment rose to new highs; money became available for expansion of private plants; and the government built billions worth of new facilities. The pent-up consumer demand of the war kept the economy going in the immediate post-war years when defense spending declined for a time; then came the Cold War years, when defense spending came to average over half the federal budget.

In theory, the U.S. economy could get along prosperously without defense spending. Reports from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency by Professor Emile Benoit of Columbia and others have detailed the policies necessary to maintain employment and growth in a peacetime economy. However, these policies involve a substantial increase in public spending, which would directly challenge private enterprise. Defense spending is not threatening to business interests because the money goes to private firms, and the products—weapons—do not compete with other commercial enterprises. This would not be the case if the federal government, as Walter Reuther suggested in 1946, turned defense facilities into TVA-like operations to produce low-cost housing and high-speed transportation.

If this analysis is correct (and available evidence suggests that it is), then the demand for conversion is really the kind of revolutionary reform that André Gorz in his book *Strategy for Labor* suggests should be sought. As the late economist Ben Seligman wrote, conversion means "a reorganization of the lines along which power is disposed; it means . . . a new political economy."

For this reason, placing movements for social change in a conversion framework provides a real opportunity for linking the various inadequacies of the present system to the nature of the economic system itself. For example, in many areas of the country the possibility exists for coalitions to be built around an end to military spending and a conversion of defense facilities to civilian uses, and involving peace, labor, welfare, scientific and religious groups. Such movements can attempt to relate issues such as inadequate medical care, lack of housing, poor transportation, pollution, etc., to the immense number of personnel and facilities controlled by the military-industrial complex, and to demand that these resources be used to meet people's needs, not the needs of an imperial foreign policy or the need of the capitalist economy for a stabilizing device which doesn't challenge private enterprise. Such movements would possess the highest legitimacy, since the money involved is public; defense facilities and weaponry are built with taxpayers' money, and the unfulfilled needs of citizens are apparent and pressing.

THE FOLLOWING recently published books provide information and perspectives on defense spending and the conversion issue. The organizations listed are involved in research and political action around military-industrial domination of the economy:

THE WAR PROFITEERS. *By Richard Kaufman. Bobbs-Merrill. 1970. To be available in Anchor paperback.*

The author is senior economist of



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Congress's Joint Economic Committee and the brains behind Senator William Proxmire's hearings in recent years on weapons system acquisition, the military budget and national priorities. Drawing material from these hearings and other sources, Kaufman has produced a lucid and penetrating study of the manner in which industry profits from defense spending. The book provides valuable ammunition to advocates of cutting the defense budget, and lays to rest the myth that defense business is unprofitable. As Kaufman notes, it is the corporations that provide the dynamics for the arms race and a bellicose foreign policy—while their personnel shuffle in and out of high-ranking jobs in the Pentagon. The bibliography of *The War Profiteers* contains a comprehensive list of congressional hearings and government reports dealing with war production.

THE ECONOMY OF DEATH. *By Richard Barnet. Atheneum, 1969. Paperback.*

A Tom Paine-like essay that provides the best available layman's introduction to the military-industrial complex and the defense budget. Useful for mass distribution. A former State Department official, Barnet is now co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.

THE WAR ECONOMY OF THE UNITED STATES: READINGS IN MILITARY INDUSTRY AND ECONOMY. *Edited by Seymour Melman. St. Martin's Press, 1971.*

This is the most useful collection of critical writings on the defense economy. Melman has gathered together excellent articles that have appeared in various journals in the past few years, including I. F. Stone's "The War Machine Under Nixon," Bernard Nossiter's prize-winning Washington Post series "Arms Firms See Post-War Spurt," James Clayton's "Vietnam: The 200-Year Mortgage," and Ernest F. Fitzgerald's "Defense Waste and the Industrial Engineer." In addition, there are selections from hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Joint Economic Committee and short essays by Melman and his colleagues on the industrial conversion problem. The book is ideal for adoption by economic and government courses, and a good source book for groups preparing leaflets and articles on the war economy. (Issue can be taken with Melman's introductory essay in that he doesn't sufficiently relate defense spending to American capitalism as a whole; this view can be balanced, however, by reading selections in the Fann and Hodges book noted below.)

CONVERSION OF INDUSTRY FROM MILITARY TO CIVILIAN ECONOMY. *Praeger, 1970. A series edited by Seymour Melman, which includes the following:*

*The Defense Economy: Conversion of Industries and Occupations to Civilian Needs,* edited by Seymour Melman.

*Potential Civilian Markets for the Military-Electronics Industry: Strategies for Conversion,* edited by John E. Ullmann.

*The Conversion of Shipbuilding from Military to Civilian Markets,* by Daniel M. Mack-Forlist and Arthur Newman.

*Conversion of Nuclear Facilities from Military to Civilian Uses: A Case Study in Hanford, Washington,* by Aris P. Christodoulou.

*The Conversion of Military-Oriented Research and Development to Civilian Uses,* by Marvin Berkowitz.

*Local Economic Development After Military Base Closures,* by John E. Lynch.

These detailed technical studies emerged from a seminar on industrial conversion headed by Professor Seymour Melman of Columbia University. The series is a wealth of information on the potential markets and new products that defense-oriented industries could supply if converted. For this reason, the books are highly useful to individuals and groups seeking facts to demonstrate that human needs could be met by the men and machines now utilized by the defense establishment. The major flaw is that none of the books really considers the question of political control, i.e., will government-owned defense facilities be sold to private firms or turned into community-run corporations? Would the shipbuilding industry have to be nationalized to achieve conversion? Also neglected by Melman's group is the question of how to develop the political concensus necessary to bring about the policy changes that make possible reduced defense budgets and produce conversion. Despite these shortcomings, Melman and his colleagues have rendered a needed service. The introductory volume, *The Defense Economy,* contains a 55-page bibliography on "Studies of the Economic Effects of Defense Policies and Expenditures," prepared by the Research Analysis Corporation, which alone recommends the volume to researchers.


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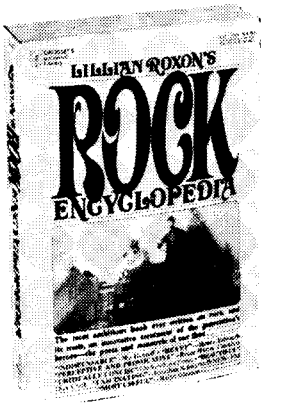


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THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE COLD WAR: SOURCES AND READINGS. *Edited by James Clayton. Harcourt, Brace, World and Jovanovich, 1970. Paperback.*

This book takes a historical approach to the problem of defense spending and for that reason it is complementary to Melman's book of more immediate readings. The book contains a useful set of statistical tables on defense spending and employment since World War II. It includes sections on the impact of the Cold War on research and development, national resource allocation and regional development, with excerpts from Melman's *Our Depleted Society,* H. L. Nieburg's *In the Name of Science,* and Peck and Scherer's *The Weapons Acquisition Process.* There is a valuable sec-



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tion on the cost of the Vietnam war. Clayton's introductions and notes provide additional information and a good overall perspective.

READINGS IN U.S. IMPERIALISM. *Edited by K. T. Fann and Donald C. Hodges. Porter Sargent, 1971. Paperback.*

This book provides evidence for the case that defense spending is an essential part of American Imperialism. The case cannot be easily dismissed since, in my opinion, there is a good deal of truth in the New Left critique which raises the possibility that conversion might really mean the conversion of American capitalism to American socialism. Among the most valuable articles are Harry Magdoff's "Militarism and Imperialism," which documents the importance of war to the American economy throughout the nation's history; William A. Williams's "The Vicious Circle of American Imperialism"; Heather Dean's analysis of "Scarce Resources"; and James O'Connor's "The Meaning of Economic Imperialism." Articles by Third World authors writing mostly on U.S. relations with Latin America are also included in the book, which is a healthy antidote for those who believe that conversion can be achieved simply by congressional legislation.

COALITION ON NATIONAL PRIORITIES AND MILITARY POLICY.

A coordinating body for national religious, peace, labor, welfare and scientific organizations which seek to reverse the militarization of America's policies and resources. Serves affiliated organizations as a channel for communication and cooperative action to oppose deployment of new weapons systems, to support arms control agreements, and to redirect resources into programs to meet human needs at home. Publishes a newsletter ten times a year, available for a $3 contribution. Seeks new national and local groups for affiliation. Present members include SANE, United Auto Workers, National Council of Churches, and Women Strike for Peace. CNPMP, 100 Maryland Ave. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. (202–546–7000).

NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON LATIN AMERICA (NACLA)

A research group which studies U.S. policy and the defense establishment Its publications include: "The University-Military-Police Complex" ($1.25) the "Research Methodology Guide' ($1.25), which is very useful for researchers and includes a section or "How to Research the Military" "U.S. Military and Police Operations in the Third World" (65c); and a monthly newsletter available for a $5 membership fee. NACLA East, Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, New York 10025; NACLA West, Box 226, Berkeley, California 94701.

NATIONAL ACTION RESEARCH ON MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX (NARMIC)

A project of the American Friends Service Committee designed to aid community groups in taking action against the military-industrial complex. Provides information on defense contracts, military installations, weapons systems, etc. Publications include "Weapons for Counterinsurgency," a study of firms that manufacture weapons for Vietnam-type wars; and "Bringing It All Back Home," a study of domestic police and Army counter-insurgency planning. NARMIC, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102 (215–563–9372).

SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS FOR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTION (SESPA)

Organization of scientists and engineers opposed to military research and production and dedicated to the idea that science should meet human needs Chapters in 15 cities. Publishes a newsletter called "Science for the People," available for $5 a year. Seeking interested members for new chapters. SESPA, Box 59, Arlington Heights, Massachusetts 02175.

UNION OF RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMISTS (URPE)

Organization of radical economists who research various aspects of American economic system, with a view toward change. Chapters at various universities. Publishes a quarterly journal available for $7.50 a year membership fee. The Winter 1970 issue contains an article on "Capitalism and the Military-Industrial Complex," and a special August 1970 issue is available on "The War and Its Impact On the Economy." Back issues can be purchased by new members. URPE, 2503



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—DEREK SHEARER

# Letters:

[CORRECTION]

EDITORS: Two errors appeared in my RAMPARTS [April 1971] article on Chile, which should be corrected:

The Premier of Greece was *George* Papandreou, not his son Andreas, who served in the Cabinet and was the "left" leader in the Center Union party.

The Papandreou government was not overthrown by the colonels' *putsch,* since it was not in office, and had not been since its replacement by the King in 1965. The coup took place as the May elections were approaching, which were expected to return a large Center Union majority, on a platform whose slogans promised radical changes.

Readers interested in a careful study of the 1967 coup should turn to *Death of a Democracy* by Stephen Rousseas, with Herman Starobin and Gertrude Lenzer, which documents the role of the CIA in the coup, which was effected by the colonels' putting into operation a NATO contingency plan to be used in the event that "communists" tried to seize power.

MAURICE ZEITLIN
Santa Barbara, California

[PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY]

EDITORS: We find it disturbing that your April issue gave so much attention to the People's Peace Treaty and none to the rest of the spring actions against the war in Southeast Asia.

We are afraid that Peace Treaty amounts to little more than a petition, even though it is claimed that it is an act of civil disobedience. We also cannot see how the United States has a right to demand a coalition government or the release of prisoners. It also seems foolish that anyone would trust the U.S. government to hold to any date that it set for withdrawal. Now—on every ship, plane and rowboat available—seems to be the only justifiable means of withdrawal, to us.

On April 24 the largest mass of workers, women, blacks, Third World people, gays and students will mass in Washington and San Francisco to show their dislike of the government's policies of aggression, repression and prejudice. This demonstration would seem to be a much more profitable use of energy and would seem to deserve more attention in your magazine.

JEFFREY WILLARD
FRED PETERSON
RICHARD WALL
Temple University
Student Mobilization Committee

*When the April issue went to press, the plans for the spring mobilizations were still under discussion and neither date nor details were available. The People's Peace Treaty is based on the Eight Points for Peace proposed by the Provisional Revolutionary Government in Paris, September 7, 1970. The Eight Points for Peace and the People's Peace Treaty represent the PRG's recognition of the need to undercut any excuse Nixon might use to justify prolonging the war. It is a document that recognizes political realities and deserves our support.* —THE EDITORS

EDITORS: We of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom declare War on War! We are moved to take drastic action by the frustration of our people for a quick end to the war in Indochina. We are tired of seeing our brothers kill and be killed in a senseless, endless war. We see the great potential of our country —which could erase poverty at home and abroad and bring dignity to human life—squandered in useless destruction and an arms race which brings us less security and drains our resources.

Until the war in Indochina is ended and our country changes its priorities from death to life, we will say NO to the war machine in whatever non-violent ways we can:

1. We will take war off our shopping list until the U.S. takes war off *its* shopping list. To dramatize this effort, we have initiated a SHOPPERS' STOPPAGE (nationwide) —we will not shop on Tuesdays until the war ends. Instead, we will make EVERY TUESDAY PEACE DAY.
2. We will not buy *any* day household products manufactured by


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companies making huge profits from the war.

3. We will reject the government's designation of Vietnamese as our enemies and sign the People's Peace Treaty which outlines the terms for a just settlement of the war in Indochina now.

We ask all who care about the future of our country and the world to join us in this symbolic protest—Shoppers' Stoppage/War on War—so that the dream may one day become reality.

KATHERINE L. CAMP, President
United States Section
Women's International League
for Peace and Freedom

[REVISED FORECAST]

EDITORS: David Horowitz's "revised forecast" for the white movement in general and the Weatherpeople in particular [RAMPARTS, March 1971] is like the weather forecasts given on the NBC and CBS news—inaccurate, unreliable, and divorced from reality.

Horowitz begins by writing, "They (the past two years) haven't been good years for anyone; and on balance they haven't been good for the left at all." Stating this as though it were a fact rather than a highly subjective opinion and revealing personal comment on the state of his own head, Horowitz then goes on to present his overall pessimistic appraisal of the state of the white movement—not only do we not have a "national organization of the left" but also we are heading in the direction of new life-styles, political communes and collectives and underground violence (all of which, according to Horowitz, are bad directions).

Because much of the white movement does not think so mechanically, we see these directions not as evidence of our weakness and failure but rather as an indication of our growing strength. We understand that new constituencies are reached more by the creation and existence of real life alternatives than by academic preachings, that coalitions can only be effective if the parties to the coalition have a firm and active sense of their own and each other's political integrity and identity, and that aboveground organizing takes on fresh and added importance in the presence of underground violence. We understand that by following through on the process and the energy released by these directions we are learning what it means to be human beings engaged in political struggle. After all, was it really the Weatherpeople who turned us off to the old-style peace demonstrations? Or wasn't it the case that we all felt the frustration and alienation which comes from working in a distant, bureaucratic national organization? Stop mystifying the Weatherpeople and stop objectifying us, Horowitz. Our feelings are real and right on—the Weatherpeople didn't create them.

In terms of his specific criticism of the Weatherpeople, Horowitz makes a crucial error—he attributes their revolutionary courage and power solely to their "necessity of proving that . . . the sons and daughters of American affluence could dare to die for their Asian brothers." While it is true that the identification and solidarity the Weatherpeople (and many other people) feel with oppressed peoples throughout the world is an important driving force, it is not the only force. What the Weatherpeople and many of us have come to understand in the past year or so is that we, children of white Amerika, have something to gain from a revolution, too. We're not just in this thing out of guilt; we're in it because it means something real to us; it means our freedom, our world, our lives.

It is because Horowitz refuses to admit this that he can criticize the Weatherpeople for having primarily one constituency—white freaks. But isn't it true that having developed a political/social identity out of the white freak culture and seeing in its life-style a basic anti-imperialism and anti-racism, it is only proper that Weatherpeople address themselves to that culture and attempt to shape it in explicit political directions? Should white kids organize blacks, Chicanos, Indians? Those groups are organizing themselves.

What of the white working class (we hear Horowitz ask); should white freaks organize them? In fact, it was the reality of the lack of movement among workers which led to a rejection of the classical idealization of the working class. But never have the kids of the satisfied workers been ignored. The ideal of the working-class freak

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ooms behind a part of Weather thinking; at least there is no reason why it can't—GIs, mainly working-class in origin, may be the freakiest of us all—drag on!

Perhaps of most importance is Horowitz's criticism that Weatherpeople are a hard act to follow (and after Monday, March 1, 1971, even harder). To call this a criticism is to beg the most important question before the Movement—how to avoid the feeling that armed struggle is a higher form of struggle than mass work, and, thus, how to avoid the paralysis that such a belief creates. It is a problem of coordinating the different kinds of struggle, of seeing co-equal levels of struggle and not hierarchical levels. This is what New Morning was all about. It is what the NLF is all about. Their acts are hard to follow too.

Lastly, as to New Morning renouncing armed struggle—a capital idea.

PAUL GREENBERG
BARBARA BROGANS
Berkeley, California

EDITORS: I just want to express my appreciation to David Horowitz for his article on Karma and Politics (RAMPARTS, March 1971). It's high time someone straightened out the two, and he did it well. The power of *all* the people (not just an isolated few) is the greatest revolutionary force. Until we can begin to tap that power source we shall all continue to be repressed by existing institutions. . . . As Horowitz said, we need a mass movement that touches as many people as possible. Only with such a movement can we reach the older, the straighter, the construction workers and the bourgeoisie generally. . . . We must offer real alternatives to the misery that life has become for many.

The system is beginning to crumble because of its own contradictions and the institutional rigidity which accentuates them. We must seize the time to link the contradictions to the disintegration, and to set forth our plans for a new and better structure. To do less is to insure our failure. Nor should we expect success if we keep such information to ourselves. We must spread the word among the people—*all* the people.

HARRY E. VANDEN
Bronx, New York

[POLITICAL PRISONERS]

EDITORS: There was some publicity, in the United States and elsewhere, after large numbers of unarmed citizens were shot down by the army in Mexico City on October 2, 1968. But comparatively little was said about the ensuing mass arrests, the tortures used on many of the prisoners, or the mockery of due process during the trials.

Particularly serious is the case of Mario R. Solórzano and Carlos Rolando, two Guatemalan political exiles in Mexico. They had sought asylum in the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City on July 4, 1968. After spending some 30 days in the Embassy, they were flown to Mexico on August 6th. There they were allegedly in some way connected with the 1968 Student Movement. Along with some 120 other political prisoners arrested at that time, they are still in jail in Mexico City.

Their case, however, is a special one: They were sentenced for having shot a soldier in Mexico City on July 4, 1968—although they could provide evidence that they were not even in the country at that time. They have recently been sentenced to 23 years, and their case is now pending before the Supreme Court in Mexico.

The two people feel it might help their case if concerned people all over the world wrote letters to the President of Mexico and the President of the Supreme Court demanding a fair trial. The addresses are:

Sr. lic. Luís Echeverría Alvarez, Presidente de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Palacio Nacional, México, D. F.

Sr. lic. Alfonso Guzmán Neyra, Presidente, Corte Suprema de Justicia, México, D.F.

NAME WITHHELD
Mexico City, Mexico

*In addition it might be helpful if our readers write letters abhorring the pro forma trials and outrageous sentences meted out to all the victims of the 1968 mass arrests. (Sentences range from 6 to 23 years at hard labor. Details of the trial exceed even the excesses of Julius Hoffman's court.)*

—THE EDITORS


## CAPITALISM'S THE CULPRIT!

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They assail our ears and insult our intelligence with that ancient, worn-out alibi that funds for domestic problems are not available because of the war but that after the war there must be a renaissance on the home front! Sheer nonsense! The mass poverty even among employed, the inadequate care of the sick—other than the wealthy—the destructive class warfare in the cities, are all the product of capitalism operating *normally*. The havoc and mass murder on foreign battlefields are but normal consequences of a struggle for economic supremacy among rival *capitalist* powers.

Yes! We say *capitalist* powers because there can be no such phenomena as communist or socialist nations, despite all propaganda to the contrary. Communism (or socialism) must be a world-wide system without national boundaries. The competition and warring in the world today is between and among "free enterprise" capitalisms and the rapidly developing state capitalist dictatorships—between and among the nations of both camps.

There is no future for most of us in either type of capitalism. In the west we are beguiled with fanciful tales of equal opportunity and justice for all, and democracy; and that none of these "God-given" rights exist for the majority in the so-called Communist/Socialist world. In the east the fable of common ownership is written into the Constitutions and totalitarian regimes are termed "People's Republics." Yet it is obvious that both camps are class-divided societies with privileged, parasitical rulers in command.

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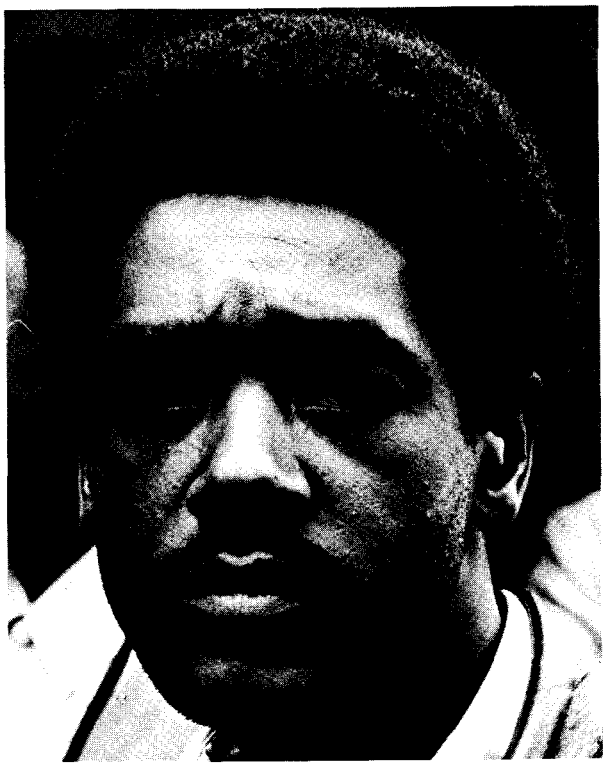

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